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STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

THE SATIRE OF SENECA ON THE APOTHEOSIS OF CLAUDIUS

The MMCo.

THE SATIRE OF SENECA

ON

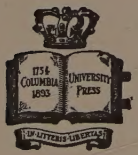
THE APOTHEOSIS OF CLAUDIUS

COMMONLY CALLED THE
ΑΠΟΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΤΩΣΙΣ

A STUDY

BY

ALLAN PERLEY BALL



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PREFACE

UNDERTAKEN with a view to one of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia University, this study of Seneca's Satire has grown somewhat unexpectedly. Its brief material, from the curiosity of its subject and the natural search for parallel which it suggests, proved capable of leading to a quite indefinite expansion; so that any scheme of exhaustive treatment, such as the primary object of the work made appropriate, had to yield for the most part to the pursuit of more individual threads of interest.

For the text, I have followed in general that of Bücheler's *editio minor*. The few changes which I have ventured to make are of course particularly explained in the notes, in which attention is called also where any of the present readings differ from others of importance. Of the translation which follows the text, there is only to say that the metrical parts were so rendered for the sake of reproducing, at least in its effect upon the page, the original form of the Menippean satire. The metres of the Latin verses have been copied as nearly as possible, even to the dactyls, whose

ponderous incongruity at certain points seems to have been a part of the author's intention.

My debt to preceding commentators is naturally unlimited. It is defined for particular acknowledgment where this seems fitting, but much of the material of comment has become common property, an evident result of the useful offices of the lexicon as a concordance of examples. My sincerest thanks are offered to those who have helped me by suggestions. Especially to Professor Harry Thurston Peck, at whose proposal the making of this edition of the *Apocolocyntosis* was begun and whose personal interest and criticisms have been as important to its completion as his lectures had been inspiring to the motives of my work, I am under the greatest indebtedness. I wish to add special acknowledgments also to Professor James Chidester Egbert, Jr., to whom I owe, as but one of my obligations, appreciation of the evidences afforded by Latin epigraphy on the historical side of the present study.

A. P. BALL.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
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THE SATIRE OF SENECA

INTRODUCTION

I

When Claudius Caesar died, his official deification was punctiliously secured by the prudent piety of the wife and adopted son who had been interested in his taking off. Among the solemnities preceding the *sanctificatio*, came the *laudatio funebris*, pronounced by the young Nero under the tutelage of his mother and Seneca. Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 3) tells us this much of the occasion: *Princeps exorsus est, dum antiquitatem generis, consulatus ac triumphos maiorum enumerabat, intentus ipse et ceteri; liberalium quoque artium commemoratio et nihil regente eo triste rei publicae ab externis accidisse pronis animis audita: postquam ad providentiam sapientiamque flexit, nemo risui temperare, quamquam oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus praeferret, ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus adcommodatum.*

It is regrettable that we have not this imperial eulogy to read, though probably its absence is due

to no lack of care on the part of the young emperor's famous secretary. More significant, however, than the speech was the laughter with which it was received; and this, crystallized in literature of quite another sort, we have among the works of Seneca in the unique specimen of Menippean satire variously known as the *Ludus de Morte Claudii Caesaris*, or the *Apocolocyntosis*.

But before the question of its origin or its literary classification, it claims our interest as a document on the character of Claudius and his time. It is a burlesque on the apotheosis of the defunct emperor, a document most unofficial, but all the more expressive, belonging as it does among the signs of relieved amusement which immediately succeeded Claudius's passage to another world. The latest event of which it indicates knowledge is the death of the freedman Narcissus, whose removal followed close upon his master's own. Its contribution of facts counts for less than the impression which it gives of the aspect Claudius bore to people who knew him. Nothing that was written of him so carries us back to the mood of a contemporary as does this skit composed when Roman society was first appreciating Claudius, the new divinity, and when a witty philosopher could, if he chose, in a sufficiently enlightened circle relieve his mind on the subject of a prince who had managed to cause him several very dreary and inconvenient years.

We do not look, then, for a presentment very heroic. The dramatic oddity in the picture of a person with Claudius's idiosyncrasies limping up to the heavenly gate and applying for admittance to the most select society of Olympus needed but to be pointed out, and the writer used obvious material. Confirmation enough we find in the professed historians, Tacitus (*Annales*, xi. xii. etc.), Dio Cassius (lib. lx), and Suetonius (*Vit. Claudii*). Theirs is the same Claudius, even if somewhat less amusing and occasionally more pathetic.

It is one of the most curious and paradoxical characters of his time whose picture we thus gather piecemeal, the psychological interest of which has been largely obscured by his more spectacular successor. If the workings of poor Claudius's mind could be revealed to us, it might prove more worth looking at than Nero's; but it never attained expression: we vainly look for anything like the epigrammatic wit with which the other emperor in some degree maintains his character as an artist. Nero, indeed, was a monumental stage-struck rascal, as Caligula is the time-honored example of a head turned by unlimited license; Claudius was a complex medley. He is entitled to a far more adequate characterization than he ever got. Conspicuously the victim of the "two men warring in his members," he had good intentions enough certainly to pave his way to Olympus; but his weakness was too plain, and the ancients were inclined simply to

pass contemptuously by such a morally pathological case, with the broadest of generalizations.

Yet one can scarcely read certain chapters in Suetonius and Tacitus without doubting whether Claudius was an incompetent meddler on the throne or whether he was an enlightened statesman. In fact, he was a little of each. The constant victim of his timid dependence upon those whom he ought simply to have employed, he yet displayed what amounted to temerity, not only in attacking Augean masses of detail which might well have dismayed a stronger man, but also in running counter to established prejudices by his projects of reform. The most plodding and conscientious of magistrates, he seems often on the bench to have shown a strange caprice or even a freakish frivolity. Yet at least one of the odd anecdotes told of him, of the way in which he induced an obstinate woman to acknowledge her son, suggests the ingenuity of a Solomon. A scholar by temperament, he was noted for his stupidity, and with a low physical vitality he had appetites sensual to the point of grossness.

So far as it goes, the judgment of Diderot is true enough. *La vie privée de Claude*, he says, *montre ce que le mépris des parents secondé d'une mauvaise éducation, peut sur l'esprit et le caractère d'un enfant valetudinaire.* Claudius's childhood and youth were spent in ill-health and repression. He was a backward infant, whom his own mother called a monstrosity. Throughout most of his early life

he was subject to frequent sickness, and "Fever" appears in our satire attending him with direful fidelity to the very entrance of heaven. Contemptuously kept in the background by his family, he was found by the accident which put him on the throne quite unprepared with experience of public office. His career was too suddenly expanded. The faithful laboriousness which might have honored a petty position was here the reverse of a qualification. He had no fit sense of proportion, taking upon himself all kinds of business, big and little. And while he administered them with a dull conscientiousness alternating with capricious whimsicality, his intermittent intelligence clouded by indigestion, — for Claudius was the dyspeptic of antiquity as well as one of the gluttons, — his ill-starred merits naturally met with only a short-lived appreciation.[1] In his genuinely intelligent comprehension of many of the aspects of his government, and his honest desire to see the Roman constitution adapt itself as smoothly as possible to new conditions, Claudius was a theorizer rather than an executive. As an early example of the scholar in politics, he was manipulated by more practical politicians. All his intellectual qualities, however, good or bad, were stultified or grotesquely distorted by the intrusive cravings of his weak body; as Dio Cassius says in his qualified praise of him: *οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν δεόντων ἔπραττεν*

[1] Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 12.

ὁπότε ἔξω τε τῶν προειρημένων παθῶν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκράτει. (lx. 3.)

In the *Ludus* we naturally find Claudius's physical vulnerabilities hit most easily. His halting and irresolute gait comes first, as he limps off to heaven *non passibus aequis* (c. 1), and at least three times more, in *pedem dextrum trahere* and *insolitum incessum* (c. 5), and in the ironical praise of his fleetness of foot in the *nenia* (c. 12). We have fair descriptions of Claudius's personal appearance in Suetonius, 30, and Dio, lx. 2, to say nothing of the extant portrait busts; the general physical grotesqueness implied in the terror which the *novi generis facies* awoke in Hercules, is a sufficiently palpable exaggeration. From all accounts it may be concluded scientifically that Claudius was well enough when quiescent, but that his nervous reactions were rather uncouth, as was not strange with a body that had been so preyed upon by disease during its period of development. To this we can refer the *corpus eius dis iratis natum*, of chapter 11, as well as the allusions to his shaking head and trembling hands, and other signs of physical degeneracy.

In the same category perhaps we can put his defective utterance. This is a favorite gibe. The heavenly janitor (c. 5) reports him *nescio quid minari*, and to an inquiry *respondisse nescio quid perturbato sono et voce confusa*. Hercules notes with alarm his *vocem nullius terrestris animalis sed qualis*

esse marinis beluis solet, raucam et implicatam, and presently has occasion to demand with disgust, *Quid nunc profatu vocis incerto sonas?* When (c. 7) Claudius is angry at some of Fever's revelations, his utterance is reported only *quantum intelligi potuit*, and Augustus as the crowning complaint in his arraignment of Claudius's egregious unfitness for divinity challenges him (c. 11), *tria verba cito dicat et servum me ducat.* Augustus had observed this defect in his grandnephew long before. In one of several letters (Suet. *Cl.* 4) written about the boy Claudius to his grandmother Livia, he says, *Peream nisi, mea Livia, admiror. Nam qui tam ἀσαφῶς loquatur, qui possit quum declamat σαφῶς dicere quae dicenda sunt, non video.* Elsewhere (c. 30) Suetonius tells of Claudius's stammering, with the implication that it was especially when he was angry or excited, as he evidently is in chapters 6 and 7 of the satire. Augustus's observation to Livia fits curiously well with what Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 3) says of Claudius's oratory: *Nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata disereret, elegantiam requireres.*

The limitation here, however, must refer more particularly to his intellect than to his tongue. Claudius's mental traits were no less opportune for the satirist than his bodily ones. Like some other men who incline to pedantry in their intellectual habits, he was notoriously absent-minded, which in the practical world amounts to sheer

stupidity. Augustus had noted with disgust Claudius's wool-gathering propensities as a boy (cf. Suet. 4), and all the biographers of Claudius give quaint and amazing instances of what Suetonius (c. 21, 38, 39, 40) calls his *oblivionem et inconsiderantiam, vel ut Graece dicam,* μετεωρίαν *et* ἀβλεψίαν. He was, as R. Y. Tyrrell[1] would translate μετέωρος, *distrait.* Poor Claudius himself was aware that he must have seemed dull at times, and took occasion to explain that he had acted so as a matter of prudence under his tyrannical predecessors. His apology, though Dio repeats it for him, was evidently unconvincing, for *intra brevem tempus liber editus* [*est*], *cui index erat* Μωρῶν ἐπανάστασις, *argumentum autem, stultitiam neminem fingere* (Suet. 38). The loss of this book for our present purpose we do not know how much to regret.

In the satirist's overhauling of Claudius's qualifications for divine honors, the μετεωρία was naturally not overlooked. *Aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere* (c. 1), *stolidae vitae* (c. 4), and *nec cor nec caput habet* (c. 8) are of reference passably direct, as also the remark (in c. 12), *Claudius ut vidit funus suum, intellexit se mortuum esse,* an early instance, by the way, in the series of witticisms on people too stupid to know when they are done for. *Tantus*

[1] Ed. *Cic. Ep.* Vol. I (new ed.), p. 66. In this connection, recall the flattering characterization in the *Consol. ad Polyb.* (xiv), *tenacissima memoria.* The contrast, however, is more apparent than real.

concentus ut etiam Claudius audire posset (c. 12) probably alludes to the same inadvertency. Claudius's question when in Hades he met the crowd of people whom from time to time his orders had sent thither: *Quomodo huc venistis vos?* (c. 13) is an example of *oblivio* sufficiently marked, and Augustus's bitter taunt when Claudius denied knowledge of having killed Messalina, *Turpius est quod nescisti quam quod occidisti* (c. 11), plainly recalls the extraordinary instance in Suetonius, 39, where after having sanctioned her death Claudius innocently inquired at dinner *cur Domina non veniret.*

Not least notorious among Claudius's peculiarities was his passion for holding court. *Ius et consul et extra honorem laboriosissime dixit* (Suet. 14), both in season and out of season. Chapter 7 of the *Ludus* speaks of his sticking to the work through the long days of July and August, the customary vacation time; though curiously enough he seems to have allowed a respite at the opposite season (cf. Suet. *Galba*, 14), following doubtless the calendar of his own inclinations. Claudius's citation of these labors appears to have moved Hercules to stand sponsor for him. Otherwise the virtue of such judicial industry was less appreciated in heaven than the caprice and partiality which had often gone with it. The bit of parody, μωροῦ πληγή (c. 7), speaks volumes of the whimsical irresponsibility of the judge who did so many things *novo more*, and there must be some such reference as this in the

celestial irony of Ἐπικούρειος θεὸς *non potest esse*, [*qui*] οὔτε αὐτὸς πρᾶγμα ἔχει τι οὔτε ἄλλοις παρέχει (c. 8). Claudius had furnished a deal of trouble in his time. *Dic mihi, dive Claudi*, demands Augustus (c. 10), *quare quemquam ex his, quos quasque occidisti, antequam de causa cognosceres, antequam audires, damnasti? hoc ubi fieri solet? in caelo non fit.* Such expeditious methods of getting through the docket furnish one of the themes of the mock glorification in the *nenia* (c. 12), and the same besotted assiduity suggested the punishment voted in the Olympian *senatusconsultum: nec illi rerum iudicandarum vacationem dari* (c. 11).

Claudius's literary pretensions receive less extended attention from the satirist. There is reflected light, however, in the remark on Hercules's greeting of the newcomer with a verse from Homer: *Claudius gaudet esse illic philologos homines; sperat futurum aliquem historiis suis locum.* We need not suppose any pedantry in his Homeric reply, nor in the πάντα φίλων πλήρη, with which he recognized his acquaintances in Hades. Perhaps it is a hit at his particular fondness for Greek quotations. (Cf. Suet. 42: *Multum vero pro tribunali etiam Homericis locutus est versibus.* Cf. also Dio, lx. 16.) But the fashion was one common to the time, and with which the satirist himself is quite in accord. He does not, however, sympathize with Claudius's good-natured interest in budding poets (cf. Pliny, *Ep.* i. 13), judging from *vosque poetae*

lugete novi (c. 12), an obvious intimation of the commoner attitude. In Diespiter's complimentary speech, which appears to aim at Claudius's learning, *cum divus Claudius . . . longeque omnes mortales sapientia antecellat*, the whole thing leads up to the more pointed hint at his gluttony, *aliquem qui cum Romulo possit 'ferventia rapa vorare'* (c. 9).

The *nenia* closes with the anticlimax of a gibe at Claudius's fondness for gambling. As to the justice of this, one of his defenders has naïvely suggested that he was so busy as a judge that he could not have had much time for dice; though we are told that he managed to write a book on the subject. But after his judicial incompetence has served for his condemnation in heaven, this more trivial vice determines his immediate disposition in hell.

Not to carry the noting of details quite to a statistical extent, we find that the satirist has dealt perhaps as faithfully as he could with the familiar fault of Claudius's whole reign. It is this into which long afterward Ausonius condensed, in an elegiac abstract for his son, the substance of Suetonius's life of this Cæsar:

> *Libertina tamen nuptarum et crimina passus,*
> *Non faciendo nocens set patiendo fuit.*[1]

Julian's satire on the Caesars[2] introduces Claudius only to mock the same passivity. It is dramatically

[1] Ausonius, Teub. ed., p. 183.
[2] See p. 78.

illustrated in Tacitus's brilliant account of Narcissus's assumption of authority to achieve Messalina's downfall, of which we are reminded when in the satire Narcissus comes to precede his master into the lower world. The way in which Claudius was hoodwinked and subjected by those about him doubtless more than anything else earned for him the general contempt. There must have been a covert amusement intended in the suggestion made to the senate by those who urged his marriage to Agrippina, that the emperor should be liberated from domestic cares in order to be free for the public business. The subject, however, is one which our contemporary satirist had to treat with a certain caution. The last and strongest of Claudius's wives was still in power, and the writer contents himself chiefly with the freedmen; as in c. 6, *putares*, he says, *omnes illius esse libertos: adeo illum nemo curabat.* As the piece advances we mark the changes from the taunt at Claudius's subservience to his freedmen, to bitter denunciations of the murders and high crimes that they committed in his name, till at the end the portentous solemnity of the indictment gives way to comic bathos in the triviality of the punishments, each of which, however, has its point; and finally there is a hasty but conclusive application of a poetic justice which leaves Claudius the slave of a freedman of the infernal judge.

There is a judgmental aptness in it all. But the

sermon is perhaps too modern for even Seneca to have intended. Solemn, moreover, as the generalization might be made to appear, the impartial justice of the piece to its subject is by no means to be assumed. The satire throws light on the reign and character of Claudius at several points, but the light is not undistorted. In regard to the long list of victims who are enumerated in the indictment, it is of course a poor apology to say that the guilt if not the responsibility for these murders should rest more heavily on others than on Claudius; and true as it is, this is a judgment in which the writer of the satire could scarcely be expected to concur, in view of the *turpius est* of his remark on the death of Messalina. But he treated cavalierly matters in Claudius's career which are really entitled to respect. It is a great pity that we have not Claudius's own account of his life and what he conceived to be his policy, the eight books *De Vita Sua* (cf. Suet. 41). They may not have contained the most enlightened self-analysis, but so far as we can judge of Claudius's style it was characterized by frankness rather than reserve (cf. Tac. xi. 23–25, and Suet. 41, *Correptus saepe, i.e.* in his historical revelations, *et a matre et ab avia*), and these books would not have been less interesting to us that they were written, as Suetonius says, *magis inepte quam ineleganter.*

Claudius's scholarship, which is so depreciatingly regarded, seems to have been substantial, even if

not of the most illuminated. Pliny the Elder cites his histories frequently. The oration on the admission of the Aeduans to the *ius honorum*[1] indicates a varied knowledge of the origins of Rome, with side-lights from Etruscan sources which modern investigators of that enigmatical people would well like to reach. Claudius's additions to the Latin alphabet, it is true, were accepted more upon his imperial than his scholarly authority, but little as they were practically worth, they indicate a degree of phonetic and linguistic study which involved more than bare erudition.[2] In the encouragement of other men's literary efforts, we infer from Pliny's allusion, as well as the jest in the *nenia*, that Claudius showed them a patient attention as generous as it was exceptional. His own literary work doubtless chiefly lacked that element of style which comes from a vigorous nervous organization, the want of which is more likely than anything else to bring contemptuous treatment.

Of the great public works of Claudius's reign, the credit may be largely due to his ministers, but is by no means altogether so; in regard to these the satirist wisely has nothing to say.

[1] In 48 A.D. Cf. Tac. xi. 24. On the bronze tables discovered at Lyons in 1524, see *CIL.* xiii. 1668; de Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 133 *seq.;* Vallentin's *Bulletin Épigraphique de la Gaule*, ii. p. 3, and *planche* 1; cf. Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.*, p. 52.

[2] See Fr. Bücheler, *De Ti. Claudio Caesare Grammatico*, Elberfeld, 1856.

The policy of extending Roman citizenship to the provincials is the butt of an effective jest, *dum hos pauculos, qui supersunt, civitate donaret,* etc. (c. 3), recalling the witty placard that was posted in Rome in Julius Caesar's time, asking people not to be forward in showing new-made senators the way to the Curia. But the well-known speech of Claudius on the admission of the Aeduans to office, whether we read it in the imperfectly exact form of the Lyons tablets or the more elegant outline given by Tacitus, really shows a progressive and statesmanlike view of the true character of the empire. The outcry against it, in face of which Claudius's independence is especially to be noted — *his atque talibus haud permotus princeps . . . statim contra disseruit* (Tac. xi. 24) — was, in fact, both illiberal and reactionary. The abuse hinted at in Claudius's defence by Diespiter (*Lud.* c. 9), who *vendere civitatulas solebat,* was incidental and occasional. Claudius in his censorship, besides, made particular decrees against the usurpation of Roman rights by persons *peregrinae conditionis* (Suet. 25), and punished as well ambitious *libertini* who pretended to a station that did not belong to them.

The unflattering remarks in the *Ludus* on the subject of the *causidici* and Claudius's services to that notorious class, doubtless refer particularly to his limited authorization of the receiving of fees by advocates (Tac. xi. 7). This proposal was bitterly opposed by the conservatives. The emperor

nevertheless, thinking that the arguments in its favor had the side of reason, though less pretentious than the aristocratic objections, assented to the frank giving of *honoraria* not exceeding ten thousand sesterces. We cannot but think he was right. The satirist then was so far wrong, just as was Aristophanes in holding Socrates up to ridicule as a sophist. Claudius, though often ineffective, was by temperament a reformer. This showed itself in two directions, that of right reason and common sense making accommodations to the new conditions in the state, and that of a formal return to the usages of the fathers; in both ways, however, he was at variance with the immediate conservatism of his day. And though he is notorious for his antiquarian revival of old customs, it is surprising how many precedents he broke, as we have found the historians continually pointing out, *novo more*. Compare Dio, lx. 21, and *id.* 23, ἵνα γε μὴ καινοτομεῖν τι δόξῃ, showing how he felt himself liable to be misunderstood in this way.

It would of course be undiscriminating to expect really fair treatment in a burlesque like the *Apocolocyntosis*. Only as a caricature is it a study, and while it does not give the subject his due, it at least follows his essential lines and treats him consistently from its own standpoint. At the same time it rather delicately avoids matters likely to be dangerous. If less than we should expect is made of the extent to which Claudius was the cat's paw

of those about him, questions are avoided in the region of Agrippina's responsibility. She and her circle had too recently profited by precisely that one of Claudius's defects. It is not without interest after reading the later historical accounts, to look in the *Apocolocyntosis* for what is left out. For instance, the satire leaves us with simply the official story of the manner and time of Claudius's death, in spite of the tempting "copy" that might have been made of the true one. There is no hint of the *boleti* which were to become proverbial.[1] But there is a real *finesse* in the way the satirist's account is related to his inner knowledge of the actual facts in the case. After dating the event, both poetically and prosaically, he states: *Claudius animam agere coepit, nec invenire exitum poterat.* Then Mercury and the Fates have a discussion while the matter is pending. And while, as we know, Agrippina is pretending that Claudius is still alive, calling in comedians to entertain him and cleverly shutting the public out from any knowledge of the situation till all is ready for her son's assumption of power, the Fates and Apollo are kept sedulously spinning out Nero's destiny, in heaven. When everything is done, Claudius *animam ebulliit et ex eo desiit vivere videri; i.e.* he became known to be dead. This tells nothing, save to those who knew it all before, and the joke does double duty.

[1] Cf. Mart. *Epig.* i. 20, 4; Juv. *Sat.* v. 147; Suet. *Nero*, 33; etc.

Apart from the principal subject of the satire there are hints of other details in the life of the time. Thus we have an instructive intimation of the social consequences that befell the obliging senator who for Caligula's benefit had testified to Drusilla's ascent to the skies. The unsavory habits of Narcissus appear to be given as a matter of court gossip, libellous or perhaps not. The picture of the imperial funeral procession is another, with which we have not many for comparison.

One matter which seems little in harmony with the rest of the satire is the poem on Nero's destiny (c. 4). It is of course a bald intrusion for contemporary effect. As to its content, it must be put alongside Seneca's books *De Clementia*. Nero is described, by a familiar method of preceptorial tact, as an example of what he ought to be. These verses in the *Apocolocyntosis* are not to be taken too seriously, but they do appear to represent Seneca's habitual attitude toward his imperial pupil in the early part of his reign. Besides, the contemptuous brevity with which Claudius is dismissed in the beginning (*turpi . . . fuso*, etc.) points the desired contrast between the meanness of Claudius's character and the anticipated glories of an artist on the throne. We find indeed in these two princes an entertaining juxtaposition of the artist and the pedant, each, as the sequel showed, occasionally at his worst.

If the *Apocolocyntosis* was written with any other

motive than to free the author's mind, its purpose was doubtless political. Two generations after this time, Pliny the Younger could frankly say even to an emperor that Nero consecrated Claudius only *ut irrideret* (*Panegyr.* xi). This, however, was more epigrammatic than true of the actual days when the palace revolution had just put Nero on the throne. The reader of Tacitus easily infers that Agrippina must have welcomed the timely appearance of a pamphlet which would contribute to the discredit of Claudius's reign, and cleverly intimate better times at hand. The real manner of Claudius's death must soon have become known, and Agrippina and Nero secured themselves in power so easily, no doubt, because people thought it hardly worth while to care what had happened to the dead man. Nero and his mother, nevertheless, had prudential reasons enough for themselves officially consigning Claudius to heaven, as well as reasons both practical and aesthetic for enjoying *sub rosa* such an unofficial, irresponsible disposal of him, by some one else, as we have in the *Apocolocyntosis*. Nero himself, in all probability at a later date,[1] joked at Claudius's expense, and even with reference to the poisoned mushrooms by which he died. But while Britannicus was still a possibility, and Nero still perhaps felt unsafe over the murder of his prede-

[1] Heinrich's surprising theory was that the *Ludus* itself was Nero's idea, Seneca serving only to put it into its present form. See Bähr, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, 3d ed., vol. ii. p. 461.

cessor, the useful ridicule of Claudius had to be supplied by some one else, and may well have been doubly welcome. It is therefore quite possible that the satire was written to meet a felt want of this kind.

Yet it would not require a great shifting of the emphasis to tempt us to take the *Apocolocyntosis* as a tract against the absurdities of the established religion, especially, of course, the phase of it involved in the imperial apotheoses. The situation suggests one of Tertullian's ironies: *Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit; homo iam deo propitius esse debebit* (*Apologet.*, c. 5). St. Augustine has a chapter (*De Civitate Dei*, vi. 10), *de libertate Senecae, qui . . . in eo libro quem contra superstitiones condidit, multo copiosius atque vehementius reprehendit ipse civilem istam et urbanam theologian quam Varro theatricam atque fabulosam.* Since the book *contra superstitiones* is lost, the only value of this evidence is in showing the direction of one of Seneca's interests.

Dissatisfaction with religious matters in the Roman State seems to have taken two main directions: one opposed to the multiplication of divinities which was the fashion of the time, and harking conservatively back to the old days of the simpler Italian religion (cf. Juvenal's *Sat.* xiii., and in the *Ludus*, c. 9, *olim magna res erat deum fieri*); the other involving the weak points in the whole pagan pantheon. For our *Ludus* could be postulated

something of both points of view. It is, moreover, the first appearance in extant Roman literature of just such an irreverent dramatic treatment of the gods, as Aristophanes, for instance, had made more familiar to the Greeks. There was scepticism already indeed in Ennius, Lucilius, and Varro; and Lucretius (cf. *De R. N.* v. 1161–1240), not to mention Cicero, had in a serious scientific way reviewed the popular mythology with destructive intent, but such a method was nothing in effectiveness compared to this. Few things could be more subversive of reverence for the orthodox gods than the picture of Jupiter getting angry and slangily reproaching his fellow-divinities in council, or than the simplicity of Hercules, as an examiner of applicants, less shrewd than St. Peter, first getting himself taken in by an impostor and then electioneering in his behalf with such tips as *manus manum lavat*. Nowadays, as Verdaro remarks in his introduction (p. 25), this sort of thing is relatively familiar, *ma, pel tempo di Seneca, era una grande intuizione poetica*. It was at least more of a literary novelty than at present; and this should have made it count the more in its irreligious aspect.

But we must remember that the Romans were temperamentally inclined to treat their gods in a rather matter-of-fact fashion. The mimes and *Atellanae* are said to have been often irreverent; and so early a writer as Valerius Antias, dealing

with a still earlier tradition, describes the pious Numa as dickering with Jove like a veritable shyster. This element in the *Ludus* then would have been less striking than might be supposed.

As for the particular matter of deifying an emperor, the modern conception of deity is so immensely different from that which prevailed in the time of the early Caesars, that the attitude which to us seems inevitable on the subject is by no means to be assumed of even intelligent contemporaries of such an event. Professor Boissier, in his interesting and important chapter on *L'Apothéose Impériale* (*La Réligion Romaine*, i. ch. 2), explains at length the sources of that public state of mind to which the passing of the barrier between humanity and divinity was not at all essentially absurd. The political aspects of the cult of the Caesars give it a still appreciable dignity. Even Seneca would hardly have dreamed of actually undermining the institution as such. His satire was quite personal; and while Boissier alludes to its success as *facheux pour l'apothéose impériale*, it would require a ponderous sort of criticism to see in the *Apocolocyntosis* any such serious purpose as that of theological enlightenment. We need not, on the whole, suspect the author of any other intent than that of amusing himself and a few others, of freeing his mind, in fact, at the arrival of the moment when he saw, as Hercules did, *ferrum suum in igne esse.*

II

The historical interest of the *Apocolocyntosis*, therefore, lies not only in what it does for its subject, Claudius, but also in what it shows of the character and intention of its author. Seneca was one of the most significant as well as visibly important men of his time; and the nature of most of his writings is such, to say the least, that this satire easily appears a surprising thing to have come from his pen. There are, in fact, two related problems which have to be dealt with in this connection: how to account for the *Ludus* among the works of the philosopher, and how to account for the discrepancy of the title *Apocolocyntosis*, under which Dio Cassius (lx. 35) presumably alludes to it.

If the piece could be proved to be not Seneca's, it would simply be one more in the group of spurious works which in the Middle Ages came to be attached to his name. It is one of the accessories of fame to get the credit of things, both good and bad, which one did not do. Seneca seems often to have been so favored in mediaeval times, *e.g.* in the case of the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus, which so long went under his name. This fact, of course, proves nothing as to the *Apocolocyntosis*, but its tendency is to weaken faith.

If, on the other hand, we can accept it as his, it presents but one more feature in the already abun-

dantly paradoxical aspect of his life. The commonplaces of literary estimate of the *Apocolocyntosis*, such as are provided in the histories of Roman literature, are quite generally colored by the critics' judgments upon Seneca for writing such a piece. Cruttwell[1] says he "revenged himself (*i.e.* for his exile) after Claudius's death by this sorry would-be satire," etc. Schmitz[2] calls it a "bitter and unworthy satire on the deceased emperor Claudius." Farrar, in a note appended to his essay on Seneca,[3] says, "We may at least hope" that the *Apocolocyntosis* is not by the same hand that wrote the adulatory *Consolatio ad Polybium*. Friedländer, in an historical review,[4] refers to it as *ein Pasquill . . . mehr boshaft als witzig*. Mackail, likewise, in his *History of Latin Literature*,[5] describes it as a "silly and spiteful attack on the memory of the emperor Claudius," going on to imply that it is rather dull; and even dictionaries go out of their way to call it "an insipid lampoon." On the other hand, É. Havet[6] has this to say: *Sénèque est, après Cicéron et avec Pétrone, l'écrivain romain qui a eu le plus de ce que nous appelons de l'esprit; et il n'en a mis nulle part autant que dans ce curieux pamphlet, d'un ton si piquant et si moderne*. Boissier[7] calls it *une des satires les plus*

[1] *Hist. of Rom. Lit.*, p. 377.
[2] *Hist. of Latin Lit.*, p. 142.
[3] *Seekers after God*, p. 119.
[4] *Hist. Zeitschr.*, N. F. 49.
[5] p. 174.
[6] *Rev. Pol. et Lit.*, 1874.
[7] *La Rélig. Rom.*, Vol. I. p. 195. In describing the piece, Professor Boissier alludes by mistake to Mercury for Hercules.

vives et les plus gaies que l'antiquité nous ait laissées; and Klebs[1] asserts, *Es ist eine ebenso witzige wie giftige Schmähschrift.*

These typical estimates I quote, not for their utility in forming a new one, but to illustrate how the ethical question is, after all, largely one of temperament and point of view. To condemn a work of art on aesthetic grounds for moral reasons is a device not unknown, either in the hope of doing good or from some temperamental involvement of the moral and aesthetic senses. There is probably no need of determining whether it is compromising to like the *Apocolocyntosis* or obtuse not to do so. The importance of such considerations to the question of Seneca's authorship is slight. The only prejudice that can fairly be acknowledged in the matter is an indisposition to interfere with whatever interest the satire possesses. Even this, perhaps, is by way of begging the question.

The tradition of Seneca's authorship of the existing *Ludus* has been variously attacked; in recent years by Stahr (in the appendix to his *Agrippina*), and by Riese and Lindemann, while Birt, following a somewhat different line, refuses to identify the piece we have with the one which Dio Cassius said that Seneca wrote. The principal objections to the common tradition, while unequally shared and emphasized by the different critics, may be summarized as follows:

[1] *Hist. Zeitschr.*, N. F. 25.

(1) The meanness of the attack on Claudius after he was dead, as well as the pettiness of some of its details, is unworthy of Seneca the man and the philosopher.[1]

(2) The contrast between this attack and the adulations of the same emperor in the *Consolatio ad Polybium* is too particularly glaring for us to accept this as from the same hand that wrote the other.

(3) It would have been politically most inept for one in Seneca's position[2] to make fun of an imperial *consecratio*, a reflection upon the whole public administration.

(4) There are specific incompatibilities between the *Ludus* and Seneca's known views and personal history; *e.g.* narrow-minded ridicule of the extension of Roman citizenship in contrast with his progressive ideas on the subject; the absurdity for Seneca, the Corduban, to taunt Claudius with his provincial birth; the inconsistency of the Stoic teaching with regard to physical infirmities and the mockery of Claudius's bodily defects. Inaccuracies of statement, too, have been urged in this connection, as that which describes the popular rejoicing at Claudius's death, and the false account of the manner and hour of the death itself.

(5) The literary style is in many respects quite different from that known as Seneca's.

[1] See especially Riese.

[2] Stahr, pp. 335 and 337.

(6) The silence of all Latin authors as to the existence of such a work leaves but a weak tradition in its favor.[1]

(7) The alleged reference to it in Dio Cassius is of applicability more than doubtful.

The tradition that Seneca wrote the satire will doubtless never be positively proved correct. It is necessary, therefore, to take up each of the objections to this view and see if it is impossible or even finally improbable.

The first of them suggests a wide and entertaining field for psychological discussion. The satire in question was not an heroic thing for Seneca, or anybody else, to write; indeed, it was far from nice of him. But at least it does not compromise his intelligence, however it may affect our view of his character. And we are under no obligations to uphold, with Saint Jerome, Seneca's claims to sainthood. Seneca himself said, casually,[2] of his philosophy, *numquam mores, quos extuli, refero.* Dio's brilliant, though it is to be hoped exaggerated, enumeration of Seneca's moral inconsistencies is well known: . . . *καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα οἷς ἐφιλοσόφει ποιῶν ἠλέγχθη. καὶ γὰρ τυραννίδος κατηγορῶν, τυραννοδιδάσκαλος ἐγίνετο· καὶ τῶν συνόντων τοῖς δυνάσταις κατατρέχων, οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ παλατίου.*[3] Disquieting as the *Ludus* may be to the delicately moral

[1] Stahr, p. 338. Ruhkopf praef, Vol. IV. p. xxxi. Fickert, Vol. III. p. 781. [2] *Ep.* 7, 1. [3] Dio, lxi. 10.

regard, yet on the assumption that it was written by Seneca there is not the slightest difficulty in multiplying explanations for the phenomenon.

We have other evidence that Seneca, after his exile, cherished a grudge against Claudius. When Agrippina secured his recall from Corsica and got him the praetorship, it was in order that her ambition for the young Domitius might profit by his counsels, *quia Seneca fidus in Agrippinam memoria beneficii et infensus Claudio dolore iniuriae credebatur* (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 8). While Nero was still under Seneca's influence, we know that ministers of Claudius were dismissed and regulations of Claudius abrogated.[1] When Suillius, who had been powerful and corrupt under the Claudian régime, was accused, he charged that it was because Seneca was hostile to Claudius's friends, *sub quo*, Suillius alleged, *iustissimum exilium pertulisset*.[2] This implies that Seneca's attitude toward the emperor who had exiled him was sufficiently understood by his contemporaries. How far the laughter that greeted the funeral oration may have irritated Seneca into added acrimony against the man who had involuntarily furnished a compromising subject for his rhetorical skill, we cannot say.

It is clear, besides, that apart from old scores between them, the character of Claudius must have

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 5 and 14.
[2] *Ibid.* xiii. 42.

been especially distasteful to a man like Seneca. The Stoic sense that the most important thing in the world is to establish the personal freedom which comes from self-control, making its possessor relatively indifferent to the loss of political liberty, would leave nothing but contempt for a character like Claudius, who was so far from master of himself. At first sight, Claudius's literary interests might seem to have commended him to the literary philosopher. But there is probably no one who so thoroughly loathes pedantry as the enlightened scholar. In point of mere erudition we need not try to compare Claudius and Seneca. Claudius was a man of genuinely scholarly tastes, hampered though these were by low-lived indulgences. But his mind was no alembic to transmute his erudition into something worthy of a scholar's respect. The energy required to make a scholar and that to make a successful man of affairs, not so different after all, which were united in Seneca, were unitedly absent from the make-up of Claudius. In Seneca's regard for Claudius, there was the inevitable contempt of the competent for the incompetent in high place. Diderot remarks, *Si j'avais un reproche a faire à Sénèque ce ne serait pas d'avoir écrit l'Apoloquintose* [*sic*], *ou la métamorphose de Claude en citrouille; mais d'en avoir composé l'oraison funèbre.*

It is a somewhat crude assumption that Seneca's philosophy, elevated as it seems, must have checked

him from writing a piece like the *Ludus*. We remind ourselves from Tacitus[1] that he had a temperament *amoenum et temporis eius auribus adcommodatum*. Quintilian, though speaking apparently only of his oratorical style,[2] characterized him as having more ability than judgment. His philosophy was really not so far from opportunism, after all. There is no occasion for charges of hypocrisy, disclosed by an indiscreet bit of satire; though there is temptation in the fancy that when the philosopher dons the motley he finds that his jester's garments reveal more of his natural shape than did his long and enveloping philosopher's cloak. Boissier, however, studying Seneca with a sympathetic acuteness, says of him: *Ses ouvrages en réfléchissent toutes les émotions; au fond de ses pensées les plus générales, il est facile de voir l'influence des événements qu'il a traversés; son stoïcisme, qui semble d'abord si rigoureux, ne fait que mettre en préceptes les nécessités du moment où il écrivait.*[3]

There is even a curious aptness in the fact that the one satire, the one great literary joke, of Seneca should be a *Ludus de morte*, a monumentally ridiculous death, when we recall that one great burden of Seneca's serious philosophy was dignity in face of the final necessity of mankind. Garat, writing under the shadow of the

[1] *Ann.* xiii. 3. [2] *Inst.* x. 1, *fin.*
[3] *L'Opposition sous les Césars*, p. 208.

guillotine in the Reign of Terror, may have misjudged his author as well as his own time, but he said: *Il ne nous restait plus alors à tous qu'une seule chose à apprendre: à mourir. C'est là presque toute la philosophie de Sénèque.* If for the *Ludus* were to be supposed a *haec fabula docet*, it would be the absurdity of imagining an heroic death to crown a ridiculous life.

Considerations like some of these must be laid over against the offence which the publication of a lampoon against a dead man gives to the modern sense of propriety. *Nil nisi bonum de mortuis* can obviously not be claimed as a modern invention, but it is an idea that has perhaps gained increase of sanction with the lapse of time. The effect, too, of the difference in freedom upon our point of view in such matters is inevitably very great. In Seneca's time, it was commonly out of the question to say what one thought of an emperor, unless indeed *hypothetically*, until after his death.

Practically this is the way in which we must dispose of the incongruity between the *Ludus* and the *Consolatio ad Polybium*. The latter is in great part a not specially noteworthy piece of work. Written as a consolation to the emperor's literary secretary, Polybius, upon the death of his brother, it contains the usual Stoic observations upon the inevitableness of death, some sensible advice about diverting himself from his grief by busying himself with his work, and a good deal of allusion to

his high station and the pleasure of being able to perform the duties which he owed to Caesar. But then, at about chapter 12, the writer breaks out in an effusion of admiration upon that luminary and of devoted prayers for his long continuance in the world, which would be astonishing from any Stoic philosopher whatever, not to specify one who was in exile by decree of the very prince he was describing, and who was known to have disliked him, even if we forget the satire which affords so visibly ludicrous a contrast. The incongruity is so glaring that Ruhkopf even denied the authenticity of the *Consolatio ad Polybium*. But there are more plausible suppositions to make, and since the work is generally accepted as his, we must take it as a difficulty to be explained if Seneca is also to be left with the authorship of the *Ludus*.

There are a few unobtrusive remarks in this *Consolatio* which reveal its intention. In chapter xiii, after praying for Claudius's triumphs in the North, he adds, *quorum me quoque spectatorem futurum, quae ex virtutibus eius primum obtinet locum, promittit clementia.* Presently, congratulating even the exiles of Claudius's reign, he addresses him with the words: *per te habent ut fortunae saevientis modum ita spem quoque melioris eiusdem ac praesentis quietem.* At the very end, Seneca apologizes for the possible poverty of his consolations to Polybius with the plea: *Cogita quam non possit is alienae vacare consolationi, quem sua mala*

occupatum tenent, et quam non facile Latina ei homini verba succurrant quem barbarorum inconditus et barbaris quoque humanioribus gravis fremitus circumsonat.

This is evidently the vital point of the whole piece. It is a touching hint which there was reason to hope might be repeated where it would do the most good. That the touch apparently missed its effect has nothing to do with the question of inconsistency between this bit of literary work and the *Ludus*.

This particular contrast suggests the others between Seneca's life and philosophy, which have been often and amply enough dealt with. The spectacle of the witty preacher of the beauties of philosophic detachment rolling in a material opulence so enormous as to stir the envy of distant provinces, the professed teacher of virtue lending his artistic aid to some of the monumental hypocrisies of Nero's meretricious reign, though it all gives picturesqueness to Seneca's character, has been a good deal blamed. He has even been charged with dishonor for remaining at all at a court and in a capital whose morals we may suppose to have been so distasteful to him. But it seems evident that he loved Rome and life in the great capital with all the ardor of an adopted provincial of the first generation. Here lies the cause of much of his bitterness against the man who had sent him into exile. There is no real

need of undertaking to defend his inconsistencies. Evidently to call the emperor a star of blessing to the world, while he is alive, a paragon of every excellence amply filling a place of almost superhuman responsibility, and then to heap mockery upon the memory of his notorious defects as soon as he is dead, is a performance open to criticism. But we must admit that there was a good deal of temptation. Havet's judgment is more just than that of many of Seneca's critics: *Je ne crois pas que rien soit plus fait que ces deux lectures, ainsi rapprochées l'une de l'autre, pour inspirer le dégoût du despotism.* It was a time when tactful flattery was one of the few means for getting on in the world. Honorable modes of dealing were at a disadvantage.

And it may be that Seneca cared less for the realization of high ideals in life than for the formulation of the ideals themselves as such. He had the strong man's controlling tendency toward self-realization, arriving at something. He satisfied this ideally by the artistic expression of his thoughts. Practically he secured influence and affluence by the only means possible. Sincerity and hypocrisy are terms much less worth controversy in the minds of some men than others, and the philosophy of subtle distinctions or even of showy paradoxes is perhaps not specially apt to breed heroes. The Stoic doctrine of "living according to nature" would indeed scarcely bear

the interpretation that one should always take whatever means are naturally adapted to produce the desired results, though Seneca himself remarks (*De Const. Sap.* xiv. 2) of the wise man dealing with adversity, *illum . . . tamquam canem acrem obiecto cibo leniet, nec indignabitur aliquid impendere, ut limen transeat, cogitans et in pontibus quibusdam pro transitu dari.* But still he may have considered that the man who lets his ideals interfere with his getting on makes rather a sorry figure in the world.

Perhaps there really is a certain moral bookishness in a good deal of the reprobation that has been addressed to his rather unheroic methods of smoothing his path to an end desired. Unfortunately for his standing with posterity, Seneca composed his flattery so artistically that as literature it survived the occasion which called for such a lubricant. Then when, after Claudius's death, the practical man of letters was tempted both prudently to relieve his mind and amuse himself at the expense of the new occasion, that also he did so entertainingly as to leave material for an unfortunate parallel.

There is another way of explaining the *Consolatio ad Polybium.* Diderot has maintained, in the *Essay* already cited, that the adulations in the piece are all ironical. He argues from the character of it that Seneca could not have written it with the serious intention to be inferred from its

face. Dio Cassius says, apparently of this work, that in later life he was ashamed of it and destroyed it.[1] What we have, then, says Diderot, either was written later by some one to injure him, or was, supposing the genuine one to have survived in spite of Seneca's efforts, entirely satiric. Summing up the discrepancies between this and the *Apocolocyntosis*, he adds: *Si la réponse que j'ai faite a ces reproches n'est pas solide, il n'y en a point.*

This is simple, but hardly convincing. At the same time, the unprejudiced reader who is familiar with Seneca elsewhere will be likely to have a series of easily graded impressions in regard to its references to Cæsar. First he meets merely polite allusions to the emperor, in whose service Polybius was an important functionary. There are shades of the irony of the man out of court favor, the philosopher's sour grapes, and a hint perhaps for an afterthought in the persistent tendency to identify Claudius with fortune, a notoriously capricious divinity; till presently the writer's own repeated allusions carry him over into a burst of sarcastically fulsome enthusiasm for the emperor to whom Seneca himself owed so little gratitude. It is restrained with sufficient *finesse* within the bounds

[1] Dio, lxi. 10: . . . τούς τε κολακεύοντάς τινα διαβάλλων οὕτω τὴν Μεσσαλίναν καὶ τοὺς Κλαυδίου ἐξελευθέρους ἐθώπευσεν ὥστε καὶ βιβλίον σφίσι ἐκ τῆς νήσου πέμψαι, ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν ἔχον, ὃ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἀπήλειψε.

of external plausibility, and the motive for it all appears in the writer's modest hope to "be there to see" the glories he has in mind.

But that Seneca later tried in shame to destroy the *Consolatio* is a contradiction of its claim to be an absolutely academic satire. This is a character which it seems best to assume for it in a modified way, admitting the practical motive that Seneca had to serve. The piece may easily have been finely ironic for the satisfaction of his own inner consciousness, while cynically unscrupulous to the half-discerning public. The apology must simply pass for what it is worth, in accounting for the incongruities between what Seneca had to say about Claudius in the *Consolatio* and in the *Apocolocyntosis*. And it is quite possible that Seneca may have been inclined to even greater bitterness against Claudius in the latter, through the shame that he felt for the vain flatteries of the former.

Next comes the objection that such a satire as this was a reflection upon the whole Roman administration, and inconceivable from a man in so intimate a relation to the government as Seneca, who was understood to have written the very eulogy which the young Nero pronounced at the funeral of the late emperor. On the face of the situation there might seem to be, indeed, as Stahr suggests,[1] danger of affront to the surviving authorities, in thus satirizing the solemn governmental act of

[1] *Agrippina*, p. 335. II. Abth. ii. 2, *Der Verfasser*.

Claudius's deification. But we must take into account both the temper of the public mind and the particular propensities of the powers that happened at the moment to be. To such legalists as the Romans, so long as the proper thing was formally and officially done, the underlying feelings involved in it were of less account; this is evident enough in the common attitude of the upper classes toward the national religion at this period. Caligula's crazy performances as a divinity obviously brought the whole idea of the imperial deification into a degree of disrepute, undermining whatever dignity attached to its first august subjects. Of this change of sentiment the government did not of course take cognizance. That the habit of the apotheosis, however, was being carried to excess, we need not go so far ahead as Lucian's satires [1] or Julian's humorous display of the defects of his deified predecessors, for expressions of the opinion. It was only twenty-five years after Claudius that the dying Vespasian cynically observed,[2] *Vae, puto, deus fio.* If a sober, bourgeois old campaigner of an emperor could feel disposed to this kind of a joke on his death-bed, the idea must have been common enough to acquit a free-thinking philosopher of any especial irreverence, even toward the government, in dealing frivolously with the formal solemnity of a *consecratio* so unenthusiastic as this of Claudius.

[1] See p. 74 *seq.*

[2] Suet. *Vesp.* 23.

And who were the government that should take umbrage? Nero's half-real, half-affected dislike for the weariness of officialdom went along with his passion for art as his sphere of interest. Set speeches on government business he got somebody else to write for him, while he was busy with music and poetry, or amused himself with nocturnal escapades of a quite irresponsible character. He was no man to scruple at the enjoyment of a privately circulated skit like the *Apocolocyntosis*,—indeed, we have the well-known joke of his own making on the subject, not to mention his insulting pun on the word *morari*.[1] Agrippina, as we have seen, too, had ample reason to appreciate a bit of literature that would tend to weaken the prestige of Claudius's son Britannicus, and so strengthen Nero's questionable position upon the throne. There has been ambiguity in the views of the critics upon this point. It is cited in argument against Seneca's authorship of the satire;[2] and yet we know that he was counted upon by Agrippina to render service to her ambition for Nero, even from the time of his recall from Corsica. The fact is certainly pertinent that the crimes with which, in the course of the satire, the unhappy Claudius is charged, both in Heaven and in Hades, are those which he owed to Messalina and the freedmen. Those in which Agrippina had a hand were either ignored or left to the vaguest

[1] Suet. *Nero*, 33.

[2] Stahr, *Agrippina*, pp. 335–337.

allusion. There seems to be one exception, — the death of Claudius's prospective son-in-law, L. Silanus, which we know was intended to secure the marriage of the emperor's daughter Octavia to Nero. The motive is, of course, unmentioned here; and the fact of Silanus's downfall on a trumped-up charge is ingeniously adapted to the needs of the writer's situation, Claudius's part in the case being criticised in the heavenly senate house, not, forsooth, because the charge was untrue, — in fact its truth is taken for granted; Vitellius, who made it, was still living, — but because its punishment involved a reflection upon the code of ethics prevailing in heaven. This was a joke which Agrippina had abundant cause to appreciate.

We do not have to maintain, however, that our author made no mistakes. We must not be betrayed by our defence of the thesis that Seneca wrote the *Ludus* into an attempt to explain away everything that looks like imprudence or bad judgment. There was another side to the matter we have been discussing. Amusing and acceptable as the *Apocolocyntosis* might be to the ruling powers for the moment, it involved in many ways a real affront to the dignity of the Caesars. Such a jest as the allusion to Crassus, *tam fatuum ut etiam regnare posset*, would be apt to leave an after-taste in any imperial mouth. And as to Agrippina, if the phrase *quid in suo cubiculo faciat*, in chapter 8, really refers to the irregularity of Claudius's marriage to

her, as it is commonly taken to do, it seems to mark a strange perversity of imprudence on the part of the author. The reasons urged comically in heaven in defence of Silanus (c. 8) were those really offered in the Senate by Vitellius in favor of the marriage of Agrippina. I think that this particular reference can be otherwise plausibly explained; but a remark of Havet is so true of Seneca in general, and so useful to keep as an hypothesis in reserve, that it is worth quoting here: *Ces gens d'esprit ont beau être souple jusqu'à compromettre leur dignité: il y a dans l'esprit même des hommes de lettres je ne sais quoi d'indocile et de frondeur qui les condamne à blesser tout en flattant. Ils ont besoin d'être applaudis, et la foule n'applaudit qu'autant que l'écrivain trouve le mot vif qui satisfait la conscience du public et la sienne même.*

The alleged discrepancies between particulars in the *Apocolocyntosis* and the character of Seneca's writings elsewhere, for the most part do not need to be taken very seriously. The gibe, for instance, at Claudius's desire to make toga-clad citizens out of Gauls, Britons, Spaniards, and Germans — not to mention the outlandish nations of the frozen North — is cited as one of the things that could not have come from the cosmopolitan-minded Seneca, who with such a modern point of view considered man as man above the distinctions of citizenship. Here, however, we have our author voicing the traditions of the Roman aristocracy. Above every serious

consideration we have the artist making fun, not elaborating political philosophy, and he is presenting to imagination chiefly the superficial absurdity of a lot of barbarians posing in a strange and difficult attire, quite as modern humorists have seen a ridiculous side to the sometimes *maladroit* adoption of civilized garb by inexperienced Polynesians under the leading of the progressive missionary. Seneca was broad enough in his political sympathies, but that is quite a different matter from desiring to Romanize all the rest of the world, even with the franchise; for this was largely a question of taste.

Then there is the taunt of Claudius's provincial birth, apparently so inconsiderate from the Cordovan Seneca. But in Claudius's case there was special provocation, in the species of apostolic succession which it seems to have been one of his hobbies to establish for the history of his house, and which is alluded to here in his Homeric verse of introduction. And as to the general ineptitude of a Spaniard's ridiculing Claudius's liberality to provincials and his birth in Gaul, if such a plane of human nature is involved at all, this kind of jealousy is quite as likely to appear in a *nouveau venu* as in one to the manor born. As M. Boissier has remarked,[1] in speaking of the Spanish predominance in the Roman literature of the Silver Age, *Les Espagnols ont resisté les Romains pendant deux*

[1] Lecture, 5 Dec., 1898.

siècles et demi, et puis ils sont devenus les plus romains de tous.

Mockery of Claudius's bodily defects was another matter perhaps unworthy of Seneca, but hardly a proper basis for deduction. When the philosopher set out to make game of the very unheroic applicant for admission among the gods, he could scarcely be expected to neglect such an obvious opportunity as the limp and stammer which supplemented Claudius's stupidity. This is simply swallowed up in the larger question, according to Coleridge's second canon of criticism, whether the whole thing was worth doing at all.

Such particular bits of misrepresentation as the *gaudium publicum* (c. 12) at Claudius's death, and the alleged manner of the death itself, are certainly no evidence at all against Seneca's authorship of the *Ludus*. The malice involved in the first has been already admitted for him. Both inaccuracies, especially the choice of the official account of Claudius's death instead of the true one, would suit Agrippina and her circle, and point to rather than away from Seneca as the writer.

If we look for references to Claudius elsewhere in Seneca's works, other than those in the *Consolatio ad Polybium*, we find only two, both of them quite consistent with the aspect of which the *Apocolocyntosis* shows a caricature. In *De Beneficiis*, i. 15, 5, Seneca quotes with approval a remark of Crispus Passienus, *Malo divi Augusti iudicium*,

malo Claudii beneficium, evidently referring to the caprices of Claudius's administration. In the first book *De Clementia* (c. 23) we have an enlightened criticism upon Claudius's stupid legality. *Pater tuus*, Seneca says to Nero, *plures intra quinquennium culeo insuit, quam omnibus seculis insutos accepimus*, and goes on to show that instead of repressing parricide Claudius simply made it familiar. This is the very character that in exaggerated lines appears in the *Ludus*.

One of the curious allusions here is that to the Osiris cult, with the words εὑρήκαμεν συγχαίρωμεν.[1] In St. Augustine's *De Civ. Dei*, vi. 10, already referred to, the quotation from Seneca's lost work *On Superstitions* contains a reference to the same subject, which is interesting as another indication of Seneca's temperament. He speaks of the mad rejoicing which followed the feigned discovery of Osiris, and adds: *Huic tamen . . . furori certum tempus est. Tolerabile est semel anno insanire.* Apparently when he wrote of Claudius's entry into Hades he thought such a time had come for the wan souls of the late emperor's victims.

Reference already made to Seneca's modern point of view brings up another outcropping in the *Apocolocyntosis* which indicates something nearly related, — in his implied general criticisms upon the government of his country, his high-bred cynical assumption that the ruling powers will

[1] See note, c. 13.

naturally be rather inferior anyway, considering the essential might of brutality. It is that attitude of mild irony which does not take the trouble to protest. *Itaque*, he says (c. 6), *quod Gallum facere oportebat, Romam cepit*, a most adaptable allusion. Compare also (c. 14) *Claudio magis iniquum videbatur quam novum*, (c. 10) *in caelo non fit*, and the gentle intimation (c. 1) of the functions of the superintendent of the Appian road. These things bring to mind the "silk-stocking" element in politics, or out of it, which is at least as modern as it is ancient.

On the question of the relation of the style of the *Ludus* to that of Seneca's acknowledged writings, the critics differ among themselves. Lindemann, who lays as much stress as any one upon this point against the tradition, repeats the usual description of Seneca's ordinary style, as artificial, *antitheticis formulis concisa, sententiolarum luminibus interstincta*, etc., while the style of the *Ludus* is quite simple and natural: *nihil artificiosum, nihil quaesitum, nihil antitheticum. Hanc differentiam*, he asks, *quis est qui soli scriptionis generi aut argumenti rationi tribuat?* The question we can balance with the remark of Haase, who in the preface to his edition of Seneca [1] finds even in the *Ludus* sufficiently characteristic evidences of Seneca's style, *quamquam in eo* [*i.e. Ludo*] *res ipsa singularem orationis formam desi-*

[1] Teubner ed., Vol. I. p. vi.

derabat, in qua manifesta est Petronianae saturae imitatio. This last clause, which is based upon the theory of an earlier date than is now generally accepted for Petronius's *Satiricon*, refers to a matter that may be passed by for the moment. We have, however, a sufficiently broad and reasonable explanation of the simple colloquialism which goes along with the humorous tone of the *Apocolocyntosis*, as distinguished from the careful elaboration of Seneca's serious works. Heinsius went much farther, and considered the style quite the same. As for the verse of the satire, it is generally acknowledged to be in Seneca's manner.

The inference against the tradition of Seneca's authorship from the fact that no other Latin author makes any mention of the *Ludus* among his works may seem to have more weight than belongs to it; for neither is the satire mentioned as among the works of any one else. But, of course, it is objected [1] that Tacitus, who seems to have given so much attention to Seneca and expressed very distinct judgments upon him, regarding him apparently with a certain distrust, would have had something to say about a work so open to moral criticism as this. So would Suetonius, full of court gossip and eager to seek out entertaining sidelights upon history. And as for Juvenal and the epistolatory Pliny and the rest, it seems hard

[1] Stahr, *Agrip.* 338–339.

to suppose that none of them would have referred to an article of this kind from Seneca.

But while it has a certain plausibility, the argument is based upon an artificial condition. "Latin literature" is that part of it which has come down to us, of which criticism has made a complicated system, more or less self-sufficient, except for loose threads like the present one. Every surviving work is a *scholium* to every other. The whole mass has become a great interlacing maze, threaded with the clews traced and joined by mediaeval and modern scholarship. This is in many respects a highly useful condition of things, but it is not to be forgotten that the extent of the material out of which it is constructed is in great part accidental. In the great quantities of literary matter which have not survived, not the least likely to be engulfed was the literature of allusion and criticism. The less, therefore, is there a presumption to be created by the mere fact that we find no reference to this satire of Seneca in that part of the Latin literary output that we have left. We do not know, besides, how it was published nor whether it could have gained any notoriety. Add, then, the fact that in the greater variety of the whole supply, the *Apocolocyntosis* would have had relatively so much less importance than as a unique specimen it holds in the present residuum. Even an objector like Stahr hints at the hundreds of similar pamphlets of the time, — a possible exaggeration. But we

would like to know more of the Μωρῶν ἐπανάστασις, in regard to which Suetonius merely excites our curiosity.[1] And how much of a satire was that of Aelius Saturninus, referred to in Dio, lvii. 22? That we know anything at all of even a respectable fraction of the number of such pamphlets, which were necessarily limited to a more or less private circulation, is not to be supposed.

The one existing ancient reference to Seneca's satire, however, in the Greek, as it has come to us from Dio Cassius (lx. 35), increases rather than diminishes whatever difficulty there was.

After Claudius's murder, says Dio,[2] Agrippina and Nero pretended to mourn, and sent up to heaven him whom they had carried out from dinner. This was the occasion of a very clever witticism by L. Junius Gallio, Seneca's brother. Seneca had composed a piece named ἀποκολοκύντωσις, after the analogy of ἀπαθανάτισις, but his

[1] *Claud.* 38.

[2] Dio Cassius, lx. 35: Ἀγριππίνα δὲ καὶ ὁ Νέρων πενθεῖν προσεποιοῦντο ὃν ἀπεκτόνεσαν, ἔς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγον ὃν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου φοράδην ἐξενηνόχεσαν. ὅθεν περ Λούκιος Ἰούνιος Γαλλίων ὁ τοῦ Σενέκα ἀδελφὸς ἀστειότατόν τι ἀπεφθέγξατο· συνέθηκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας σύγγραμμα ἀποκολοκύντωσιν αὐτὸ ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀπαθανάτισιν ὀνομάσας, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἀπομνημονεύεται. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ θανατουμένους ἀγκίστροις τισὶ μεγάλοις οἱ δήμιοι ἕς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνεῖλκον, κἀνταῦθ' ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἕσυρον, ἔφη τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀγκίστρῳ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνενεχθῆναι. καὶ ὁ Νέρων δὲ οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης ἔπος κατέλιπε. τοὺς γὰρ μύκητας θεῶν βρῶμα ἔλεγεν εἶναι· ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος διὰ τοῦ μύκητος θεὸς ἐγεγόνει.

brother expressed a great deal in a very few words. Recalling how the bodies of those who are executed in prison are dragged off by the executioners, with great hooks, to the Forum and thence to the river, he said Claudius had been dragged up to heaven with a hook. Nero's joke, too, is worth recording. He said that mushrooms [*μύκητες, boleti*] must be food for the gods,[1] since by eating them Claudius was made a god.

It is obviously natural to suppose that this mention of a satire by Seneca on the apotheosis of Claudius refers to the one we have. Since the time of Hadrianus Junius, who was the first commentator to affix the name *Apocolocyntosis* to the published satire, this has been commonly done. The great difficulty is that not only do none of the manuscripts give it, but in the piece as we have it there is no visible point to which the title can attach itself. The objectors say, too, that the present satire is not at all the one which would be expected from the rest of Dio's statement. The other witticisms which he quotes relate to the manner of Claudius's taking off, and therefore, say Riese[2] and Stahr,[3] Seneca's also must have been based upon this. They even offer to sketch what the true *Apocolocyntosis*[4] must have contained, *keine heftigen Angriffe*, as Riese says, *weder auf Claudius*

[1] Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 33.
[2] pp. 321–322.
[3] pp. 341–343.
[4] See also Birt.

noch auf Nero, . . . but with some intimation of the manner of Claudius's death.

The inference, while plausible, is hardly convincing. Both of the other two reported witticisms hint, it is true, at Claudius's assisted demise, but they really depend upon the essential ridiculousness of his deification. As to the method of his departure, those other jests may easily have been of later date than Seneca's, when frankness would have been less imprudent than immediately after the event. There is, however, more nearly a parallel than I have seen pointed out between our satire and both Gallio's and Nero's jokes over Claudius's entrance into Olympus. Granting merely the initial difference, that Nero and Gallio based their wit upon the true story, and Seneca upon the official story, of Claudius's death, we find Gallio remarking that the defunct emperor was dragged to heaven with an executioner's hook, and Nero that mushrooms sent him there; while Seneca gives us the picture of Claudius limping up with Fever to attend him, — *quae fano suo relicto sola cum illo venerat: ceteros omnes deos Romae reliquerat*, — certainly not a dignified manner of introduction, and, in its way, quite analogous to the others.

The problem of the applicability of the title mentioned by Dio to the work which we have, requires more attention. The word ἀποκολοκύντωσις must mean transformation into a gourd, "pumpkinification," as it is anachronistically rendered.

Attempts have been made to give it the contrary sense. Baillard, among others, in a note to his translation, calls it a *mot forgé qui veut dire: apothéose d'une citrouille, et non pas Métamorphose* (*de Claude*) *en citrouille, comme on l'interprétait jusqu'ici, contrairement au récit de l'auteur.* It is, indeed, contrary to the narrative in our satire; but there can be no doubt of the word in itself, on the analogy of ἀπαθανάτισις, immortalization, or apotheosis, deification, or any of the series of similar words.

Some of the commentators have sought in the word κολοκύντη (Lat. *cucurbita*) a reference to the vegetables by which Claudius perished; but this is really out of the question. There is no confusing of *boleti* with the common gourd. Still less to be thought of is the idea of the physician, H. Junius, that it was a playful allusion to Claudius's death, *quasi pharmaco purgatorio, quod olim frequens e colocynthide concinnabatur.* The point of the name lies wholly, so far as any evidence we have, in the fact that the κολοκύντη among the Greeks and the *cucurbita* among the Romans, like the cabbage-head among us, was a type of stupidity.[1] In this sense of it, compare Apuleius, *Metam.* i. 15, *Nos cucurbitae caput non habemus ut pro te moriamur.* Cf. Petron. 39, *in aquario* [*nascuntur*] *copones et cucurbitae.* Bücheler, following a suggestion of Heinsius, quotes also Juv. xiv. 58, coupling the *ventosa cucurbita* (cupping glass?) with the *vacuum cerebro*

[1] Compare also the French, *bête comme choux.*

. . . *caput.* B. Schmidt[1] says that in modern Greek ἔχει κεφάλι κολοκυνθένιον or κολοκυνθένιο is proverbial for a stupid person.

"Immortalization as a cabbage-head" is then intelligible enough in itself, and funny enough as applied to Claudius, but how does it apply to the satire that we have, which bears no sign of the title, and in which there is no trace of such a transformation? It is conceivable that Seneca may have written two humorous pamphlets on the apotheosis of Claudius,[2] of which the other, the σύγγραμμα with the title Ἀποκολοκύντωσις, is now lost. But this way of disposing of the difficulty is more simple than satisfactory.

There is always, of course, the extra chance that the joke depended for its contemporary appreciation upon some slang meaning now wholly lost. *Cucurbita* may have had some special application which would have given the compound title the force of a local hit, as is perhaps the case in Petronius's *copones et cucurbitae*. Friedländer renders the latter *schröpfköpfe*, "cupping glasses" (cf. Juv. xiv. 58), meaning persons who bleed or fleece one. We can imagine occasions when the word might have been jestingly applied to the original servitor *a cognitionibus*. This, however, is a long reach after an elusive possibility.

Practically two suppositions remain with which

[1] *Rh. Mus.* N. F. 33, p. 637.

[2] Birt inclines to this theory.

we can reasonably deal. (1) The name *Apocolocyntosis* was perhaps intended to have merely a suggestive and symbolic application like the titles of some modern novels; or (2) it may have been explained by something in the text now lost, either in the undoubted lacuna before chapter 8 or at the end.

According to the first supposition the author presumably desired to hint at an appropriate disposal of Claudius's imbecility which would have involved going too far for even the writer of the *Ludus* to express plainly; Claudius, though unrevered, was still the officially deified emperor. Such a discreet bit of indirection would be well suited to an author in Seneca's position. The Greek title might easily be an alternative designation, such as several of Varro's satires had. We have not, of course, the data for saying of any one of these groups of fragments that its title is not more literally applicable to its contents than is *ἀποκολοκύντωσις* to the *Ludus;* but in such a title as *Σκιαμαχία* or *Τριοδίτης Τριπύλιος*, or the Greek proverbs which are so frequent, we seem to get a hint of something in the same manner.

The theory that the title given by Dio found its explanation in a part of the text now lost has had various supporters. It is generally assumed that the evident break between chapters 7 and 8 marks the loss of a leaf from the archetype manuscript from which all the existing copies are either directly

or indirectly derived. Can the explanation lie here? In the interval it appears that Claudius so far won over Hercules that he got himself led into the council of the gods with that doughty champion as his sponsor. It is conceivable that in this connection was enacted some horse-play suggestive of the name; but it is difficult to see how it could be plausibly done.

A suggestion made at least as early as by Boxhorn (1636), and recently urged by Wachsmuth and Friedländer,[1] is that there was also a leaf lost from the end of the archetype manuscript. Friedländer is quite categorical: *Der Schluss des Pasquills ist verloren.* Wachsmuth notes particularly the abruptness of the concluding sentences of what we have, and the hasty and apparently unconsidered disposition of Claudius at the end. He had been condemned to one thing in heaven and to another by Aeacus; then comes Gaius Cæsar and overthrows that judgment, and Claudius is ignominiously passed on to Menander, with whom he is left in the capacity of a clerk. Wachsmuth suggests that through Menander, *der grosse Menschenkenner*, Claudius's stupidity may have been brought to its final expressive disposition by transformation into an actual κολοκύντη, the cabbage-head, so to say, being thus at last completely evolved.

This is a logical solution; but apart from a wish to account for Dio's title there is not to my mind

[1] But not Birt or Bücheler.

any apparent incompleteness in the sudden and summary way in which Claudius, after having been sentenced for the failures of his prosperity, is reminded of his earlier buffetings and thus contumeliously disposed of. Perhaps the account would be still more amusing if Claudius's destiny handed him successively down till his vegetating intelligence found final lodgement in the most characteristic of vegetables. But the actual close of the satire does not suggest the requirement or lack of any such dénouement. The abruptness with which Claudius is both saved from even the parody of an heroic punishment, and finally dropped in a properly ignominious manner, seems to mark a conscious anticlimax. It indicates, perhaps, a weary haste to be rid of the subject, or perhaps a studied hint that in the disposition of an accidental potentate they had all along been on the wrong track; that there was really only one thing to do with him, — relegate him to the servile subjection of his youth. One might even see in the conciseness of the few closing sentences some intimation of the style which has been elsewhere noted as a brand of Seneca's craftsmanship.

Bücheler cites against the theory that the end of the satire is lost, the fact of the subscription at the end of the St. Gall manuscript. This also somewhat affects the probability, though as the loss, if any, occurred before the existing manuscripts were made, it appears that the subscription could have

been easily supplied. We are left, on the whole, to our doubts.

There is still another possibility which I have not seen suggested. Of Dio's inaccuracy we have already had one apparent example in his reference to what Seneca wrote while in exile. Speaking[1] in terms which point to the *Consolatio ad Polybium*, he alludes to its flatteries of "Messalina and Claudius's freedmen," which, except in the case of Polybius himself, do not occur in the work as we have it. Now possibly the statement in the last paragraph of Dio's book on Claudius may have arisen in a fashion something like this. Seneca had written the little book[2] on Claudius's apotheosis, *per saturam*, and then he or some one else made a remark to the effect that the thing, instead of being called Deification, ought to have been called Pumpkinification. The joke may easily, in that age of limited circulation, have become more known than the book that occasioned it. Brevity is not only the soul of wit, but also its feet and wings. So Dio, writing many years later of a work then probably so little read that very likely he had no more than heard of it, may, in mentioning the witticisms on Claudius's death, have called the book *Apocolocyntosis* from a loose recollection of a mere conversational epithet. *Si cui haec coniectura insolens videtur, sciat ille alios longe alieniora excogitasse,*

[1] Dio, lxi, 10. This is, however, Xiphilinus.

[2] See p. 66 on evidences of its hasty composition.

as said one of the early commentators in defending a favorite emendation.

In this case, however, the question of the regular title which Seneca gave to his published work remains as doubtful as ever.

The name under which it appears in most of the manuscripts and early editions, *Ludus de Morte Claudii Caesaris*, is met with objections. Bücheler condemns the word *ludus* in the sense in which it evidently serves here, as only to have been used by some ignorant writer of the mediaeval period. It is certainly not ordinary classical usage, but for that matter, it is even farther removed from ordinary mediaeval usage. It could only be defended as ancient of course on the theory that it was a special adaptation from the common use of the term for joking and raillery. The objection made by various critics, that the phrase *de morte* makes this title a misnomer, seems on the whole of little weight. The satire is, it is true, only in small part strictly upon the death of Claudius, but it is wholly upon the occasion of it. After all, however, this name reads rather like a designation by some one else than a title applied by the author. As Scheffer says, in an apparently vague remark, *Simplicior is titulus videtur quam ut conveniat operi tam falso et acuto.* It seems not sufficiently specific; more like a general category.

The title given by the one best manuscript appears to be open to somewhat the same criticism,

though it may be nearer the original than the other: *Divi Claudii Apotheosis Annaei Senecae per saturam.*[1] This has at least the advantage that it could more easily have resulted in its present form from a copyist's misunderstanding of the incomprehensible *Apocolocyntosis*, if that be the original.

III

The chief purely literary interest of the *Apocolocyntosis* lies in the fact that it is practically the only existing specimen in classical Latin of the *Satura Menippea*, the claim of Petronius's *Satiricon* to the name being at least debatable.[2] Menippean satire is a type for the definition of which it is needless to go into the vexed question of the beginnings of Latin satire in general.[3] Whether the name *satura* originated with the sort of thing that Ennius wrote, or whether it dates back to an earlier prototype according to the account in Livy, vii. 2, we have in hand a work to which it is most satisfactory to apply the term in its primitive Latin sense; for it is obviously a medley. We may have been tempted to go even farther and, quoting Diomedes's definition,[4] cite the *Apocolocyntosis*

[1] See p. 87. [2] See p. 62.

[3] See Hendrickson, in *Am. Jour. of Phil.* xv. 29; Nettleship *The Roman Satura*, p. 35; Leo, in *Hermes*, xxiv. 67; etc.

[4] Keil, *G. L.*, i. p. 486, "... Sive a quodam genere farciminis quod ... multis rebus refertum saturam dicit Varro vocitatum." Cf. Festus, s. v. *Satura*, p. 314 (Ed. M.).

among the writings of Seneca as a kind of sausage among the more ambrosial viands of his moral philosophy.

It is at any rate a real satire according to almost any definition that could be framed. Notably it is a satire in precisely the modern sense. Most of the classical satires are something else. Petronius's novel, indeed, may be nearer our idea of the matter, but its intention is more or less vague and involved in the interest of fiction. But in the *Apocolocyntosis* the author's *animus* is never in doubt, unless perhaps in the lines about Nero, where the doubt is really as to the absence of the satirical intention. Assuming the genus, then, what is the differentia of the species?

As a literary form the *Satura Menippea* is supposed to have been a type already made to Seneca's hand, defined technically as a medley of prose and verse. The works of the cynic of Gadara from whom it got its name we know only by tradition. The satires of Varro, who introduced the form into Roman literature, afford us only fragmentary evidence of the character of this sort of composition. We know that they were "Menippean" satires that he wrote, for that was the name that he gave them, and we have nothing earlier of the same sort with which to control the definition. Both in form and substance they seem to have differed much from the Lucilian satires and to have been more in the spirit of those of Ennius, of which, however, we know

even less than we do of Varro's own. If we accept the convincingly simple etymological explanation of the primitive character of Latin satura, Varro's satires seem like a reversion[1] to the type, which through Ennius and Lucilius had been succeeded by the narrower, more special thing that was to culminate rhetorically in Juvenal. Varro is doubtless to be credited with so much of invention as was involved in the adapting of the Greek model to his genial requirements. We have the statement which Cicero makes him give, in the *Academica* (i. 2, 8), to the character of his work: *Et tamen in illis veteribus nostris quae Menippum imitati, non interpretati, quadam hilaritate conspersimus*, etc. There is also the statement of Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 11, 42; also in Gellius, ii. 18), *Menippus . . . cuius libros M. Varro in satiris aemulatus est, quas alii 'cynicas,' ipse appellat 'Menippeas.'* These are our evidences for Varro's obligation to Menippus. Seneca's obligations to Varro are more a matter of inference.

Bücheler[2] has argued to show that in the *Apocolocyntosis* we have an example of the very kind of thing Varro did. He recites the evident facts: that Varro was the one Roman literary model for the special kind of satire that Seneca was writing, the loosely composed skit in a mixture of prose and verse; that Varro at least once wrote such a satire

[1] See Quintil. *Inst.* x. 1, 95.

[2] *Rh. Mus.* xiv.

on a political subject, the Τρικάρανος, on the first Triumvirate; that many of his satires have double titles, one part Greek and the other Latin; that the scene of the *Apocolocyntosis* is in heaven, while the scenes of Varro's satires are various (and so, apparently, might include heaven); that there is the same tendency to introduce popular saws and moral reflections; that there is in both the *imago antiquae et vernaculae festivitatis;* the frequent expressions inadmissible by *urbanitas* (such as have even caused the genuine antiquity of the *Apocolocyntosis* to be doubted, the whole thing being ascribed to a modern Frenchman); the frequency of quotations from the Greek, and the general patchwork of literary allusions.

There are certainly these important points of likeness between the *Apocolocyntosis* and Varro's satires. It seems, however, hardly necessary to go so far with Bücheler as to infer from Seneca's satire the average length of Varro's and their prevailing tone. As to the relative proportion of prose and verse in Varro, the inferences that have been made from the *Apocolocyntosis* can be worth very little. And even in their general character, so far as we can judge, Varro's *saturae* were rather good-natured, humorous exhibitions of homely philosophy meant to be popular and helpful, very different from this direct and bitter portrayal of the ridiculous side of a dead incompetent potentate against whom the writer had a grudge. Besides,

much of the quality which the *Apocolocyntosis* shares with Varro's satires, it must have derived from a common source, — the vigorous wit of the racy popular speech, such as is also found in the earlier satirists. While Seneca's satire is a sample of its kind, the *satura Menippea*, if anything, must be supposed to have been a sufficiently flexible style to have allowed individual variation within the limits of the tradition; so that it is injudicious, as it is unnecessary, to make any very detailed inferences as to the characteristics of other lost works of the type.

In the definition of Menippean satire, however, the statement that it is a mixture of prose and verse seems to require a certain qualification. It is not enough that verse should be introduced into the prose, — this is true of Petronius's novel — as by way of quotation or dialogue it may be in many sorts of composition. We find here the writer himself, speaking in his own person, turning from one style of expression to another, without any visible excuse except his colloquial mood. The essence of the Menippean was that it was unrestrained and varied in its gait, walking, running, or hobbling, or indulging now and then in a rhetorical hop-skip-and-jump. This is quite what we find in the *Apocolocyntosis*. The narrator gives the date of his story in poetry, then explains it in prose; indulges in another versified performance on the subject of the hour, then descends to the most

colloquial of dialogue. For the more pretentious account of the spinning of destiny, the writer turns to metre again. A little farther on, Hercules declaims like a tragedian in iambic trimeter, on top of some forcible remarks in by no means elegant prose. At the end of the story Claudius's futile efforts with the broken dice-box are described in hexameters for which the only excuse seems to be their heroic inappropriateness.

And so it is with the shorter bits of quoted verse. A touching line from a lost tragedy of Euripides is wrenched from its connection and capped with a piece of slang. Lines from Homer supply Hercules and Claudius with their mutual salutation, and the author with his sarcastic comment. The informality with which the quotations are introduced is evidently a feature of the movement. Of them all, only four are given with the names of their authors: Homer (c. 5), Varro (c. 8), Messala Corvinus (c. 10), and Horace (c. 13). The colloquial use of bits of Greek needs no comment. Tyrrell's suggestion that this in Latin corresponded to our use of French, quite expresses its effect. Such a phrase as *non passibus aequis*[1] was of course familiar, as we say, to every Roman schoolboy, and the too hackneyed *facilis descensus Averno*[2] seems to be recalled in Seneca's description of the same journey (c. 13), *omnia proclivia sunt.* Augustus's regretful words, *legibus urbem*

[1] *Aen.* ii. 724. [2] *Aen.* vi. 126.

fundavi (c. 10), seem also to be a reminiscence of the prophecy in the *Aeneid*, vi. 810.

As a French writer[1] says, in speaking of Petronius, *C'était une des traditions de la Ménippée de pasticher des morceaux célèbres et d'imiter la manière des écrivains en vue*. The element of parody, however, does not appear here chiefly in the imitation of any particular author. Seneca is evidently mocking the prevailing tendency of the poetasters of his day when, as he introduces his hexameter lines on the midday hour, he explains to himself how *omnes poetae non contenti orsus et occasus describere . . . etiam medium diem inquietent: tu sic transibis horam tam bonam?* And in the verses just before he seems to have been posing for the express purpose of gently poking fun at poetical bombast in general: *Puto magis intelligi* — if I give the date in plain words. There is the same implication in the *tragicus fit*, with which he sets off Hercules in his minatory declamation in chapter 7. It is characteristic of the mental attitude by which the style of the whole satire is determined. Until the author gets well into the narrative, the piece promises almost to be a play with one actor, though hardly a monologue. According to his mood he mounts the *bema* and declaims, or abruptly comes down and indulges in a grimace.

There are frequent bits of dialogue introduced into the story, but the way in which it is done

[1] Collignon, *Étude sur Pétrone*, p. 227.

shares more or less in the prevailing looseness of structure. Thus in *nimis rustice*, etc. (c. 2), the manuscripts, at least, leave us to wonder whether the narrator is talking to himself, or whether some one else is interrupting him. In chapter 5, what of the heavenly janitor whose service is implied in *nuntiatur* and *se quaesisse?* And the implied dispute among the divinities in chapter 8 is so vaguely disposed that even if we knew the persons, we should find it difficult to assign the objections which are repeated by the speaker.

The informality is quite maintained in the writer's fashion of dealing with the gods. His Hercules, amiable but *minime vafer*, is a sample of what his easy urbanity could do for the purpose of the moment. Up to the beginning of chapter 10, the whole affair, excepting the long poem on Nero's destiny, is pure comedy. Hercules, Father Janus, Diespiter, a little of the comic side of Jupiter, and some very human wrangling compose the heavenly *milieu* into which Claudius seeks admission. But with Augustus comes the serious indictment of the absurd candidate for divine honors. The amusing old imbecile becomes a criminal laden with a long series of evil deeds. The *odium* which lay behind the ridicule now takes the front place, and the action hurries along with too obvious bitterness to the end.

In the *nenia* of chapter 12, something of the same transition is shown on a reduced scale. The

anapaests begin in a style of burlesque eulogy, chiefly praising Claudius for the very qualities which he notoriously lacked. But the ironic praise for the expeditiousness of his judicial performances (roughly suggesting Horace's verse-maker who could make two hundred verses an hour while standing on one foot)[1] leads easily to unpleasant intimations of offensive facts, which interfere with the burlesque.

In parts of the satire this transition threatens to wreck the literary qualities of the piece as a whole. Augustus's grievances are most of them not comic at all. The tragedy of the indictment is an intrusion, and the ridiculous threatens to give way to the intolerable. But if the author for a moment seems to forget himself in his recollections, or rather his art in his purpose, he recovers himself before the end and closes with a desperately comic descent.

There are signs that the unstudied style of the *Apocolocyntosis* is not merely a manner assumed to suit the type of composition, but that the piece actually was somewhat hasily composed, — a fact which might help to account for the application of an offhand psychological and apparently irrelevant title. For instance, in chapter 3 Clotho proposes to send Augurinus and Baba on to Hades ahead of Claudius, "all three within a year," when the supposition at the beginning is that Claudius

[1] Hor. *S. i.* 4, 9.

is already in the throes of dissolution. In chapter 6, *ceteros omnes deos Romae reliquerat*, yet presently they appear to be all in heaven. In the same chapter occurs the remark, *Putares omnes illius esse libertos*, while only two other persons are mentioned as present, Hercules and Fever; though of course it is true the impersonal individual implied in the *nuntiatur* and *se quaesisse* of the preceding chapter may have returned. At the beginning of the ninth chapter Claudius is expelled from the senate house, and yet Augustus is soon addressing him as if he were present, a very apparent oversight. Such minor infelicities as the repetition of the word *carpebat* in the first metrical passage seem also best to be accounted for by the same cause, the lack of revision.

One of the characteristic features of the Menippean satire was the familiar use of popular proverbs. One or two we find indicated as such; more are simply informally pressed into service. Among them are *aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere* (c. 1), *Gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse* (c. 7), *ferrum suum in igne esse, manus manum lavat* (c. 9), *corpus dis iratis natum, tam similem sibi quam ovo ovum* (c. 11). Very likely the same, or possibly coined by Seneca himself, are such as, *facilius inter philosophos quam inter horologia conveniet* (c. 2), *nemo felicitatis suae obliviscitur* (c. 5), *ubi mures ferrum rodunt* (c. 7), and *mures molas lingunt* (c. 8).

Equally redolent of the jocularities of popular phraseology are such expressions as, *dicam quod mihi in buccam venerit, nihil nec offensae nec gratiae dabitur, scio me liberum factum, velit nolit, ita illum salvum et felicem habeam* (c. 1), *nemo enim unquam illum natum putavit, in semen relinqui* (c. 3), *si qui a me notorem petisset* (c. 7), *olim . . . magna res erat deum fieri: iam famam mimum fecistis* (c. 9), *semper meum negotium ago, non posse videtur muscam excitare, tam facile — quam canis adsidit* [*excidit*] (c. 10), *servum me ducat* (c. 11).

Aulus Gellius, in his remarks upon Seneca's style (*Noct. Attic.* xii. 2), doubtless had other matters than these in mind, but the impression which he says was made upon some critics by Seneca's *oratio . . . vulgaris . . . et protrita* and *eruditio . . . vernacula et plebeia nihilque ex veterum scriptis habens neque gratiae neque dignitatis*, has a superficial aptness here.

Of expressions like *haec ita vera, verbis conceptis* (c. 1), *ego tibi dico, quod tibi narro, mera mendacia narrat* (c. 6), *nodo huc modo illuc* (c. 9), there is really nothing to be said; but it is hard to avoid the impression that in chapter 6, for instance, Fever is addressing Hercules much as she might an anachronistic "Bowery boy," who threatens Claudius in a way very much in character, *ne tibi alogias excutiam* (c. 7). They are evidently colloquial; similar phraseology can be accumulated

from Petronius, Martial, the comedians, and Cicero's letters. Parallels of this kind are, of course, not to be taken as traces of mutual indebtedness. They simply mean that different authors borrowed phrases from the same streets.

From a similar source is the suggestion of uncultured tautology in such statements as *incipit patronus velle respondere* and *placuit novam poenam constitui debere* (c. 14), which in an overreaching effort after extreme precision seem to have lost their special meaning altogether. *Desiit vivere videri* (c. 4), though apparently similar, is really exact and altogether to the point. Another species of characteristic plebeian redundancy is *ingenti μεγάλῳ χορικῷ* (c. 12).

The attitude of the satirist has naturally affected his vocabulary as well as his phraseology; and in single words the plebeian element is perhaps more easily definable. We find of course the colloquial *sane* (c. 5, 13) and *bene* (c. 5) in the same sense, like its derivatives in the Romance languages. Such terms as *bucca* (c. 1), *mulio* (c. 6), *notor* (c. 7), maintain the same tone. Of the vulgarism of *vapulare* (c. 9, 15), "to get a licking," there is no doubt at all. Greek words like *cluo* (c. 7) and *colaphus* (c. 15), while frequent in the comedians, came into the language through the back door, so to say; *alogia* (c. 7) is of the same sort, and rarer. Similar in character are the hybrid forms *concacavi* (c. 3) and *praeputium* (c. 8; from *prae* and *πόσθιον*).

Among plebeian diminutive formations are particularly to be noted *nummulariolus* (c. 9), derived from *nummularius*, which is itself of plebeian type, and *civitatulas* (c. 9). The more familiar *pauculos* (c. 3) is of the same quality, whence we have gradations through *auriculam* and *Graeculo* to forms quite classical. Other vulgar derivatives are *laturam* (c. 14) and presumably *Saturnalicius* (c. 8), while of analogous formation but more or less inducted into good literary usage are *perpetuarius* (c. 6), *compendiaria* (c. 13), and the adjectives *festivissimam* (c. 8), *cordatus* (c. 12), and *podagricus* (c. 13), "gouty."

No less characteristic than vulgar word formation is the use of words with altered sense, such as generally furnishes slang. The Punic word *mapalia* (c. 9), "shanties," thus becomes the type of unconsidered rubbish. *Animam ebulliit* (c. 4), "goes up the flume," is an admirable specimen. The verb *imposuerat* (*Herculi*, c. 6) in its modern sense of "impose upon," *tibi recipio* (c. 6) in the sense of "I take the responsibility," "I warrant you," a favorite expression in Cicero's letters, *decollare* (c. 6), "to take off (a burden) from the neck," here meaning "to behead," *fatuari* (c. 7), "to talk nonsense," instead of like an oracle, and apparently *stude* (c. 8), in the sense of "stop and think," — all have the colloquial ring.

The title itself, if the disputed *Ludus* were accepted, would furnish an example of this kind.

Ludus, in the sense of a satire upon something, would be perhaps, as Bücheler implies, mediaeval Latin;[1] but for this the popular speech is well known to have furnished many of the elements. The use of the word in the sense of "mockery," or "a joke," is so common in the comic writers, to say nothing of Persius's *ingenuo culpam defigere ludo* (*Sat.* v. 16), that it is by no means impossible to imagine our Menippean crystallizing the word in this sense into a title.

The syntax of the *Apocolocyntosis* shows few peculiarities, but has the same plebeian tendency. There is the common colloquial parataxis, as in *si dixero, mensis erat October* (c. 2), *dic mihi . . . quare . . . damnasti* (c. 10), and *videris . . . an . . . si aecus futurus es* (c. 10); and in the last instance the looseness of structure is emphasized by a redundant particle. In *puto magis intellegi* (c. 2), the use of the present infinitive instead of the future, as correlative to the future perfect indicative *dixero*, is peculiar, and perhaps to be noted also is the confusion of tense in *quid sibi velit . . . num funus esset* (c. 12). *Erat a balneo* (c. 13) recalls the still worse trick of plebeian syntax in Petronius's *Cena* (c. 42), *fui in funus*.

As for the use of cases, *vae me* (c. 4) is one of the few instances of the accusative with this particle. It is found in Plautus, and appears to be an inten-

[1] Du Cange (*Glossarium*, etc.), however, cites no instance of its use in this sense.

tional vulgarism. The use of the ablative in *tot annis vixi* and *multis annis regnavit* (c. 6) is the same as the *annis . . . mensibus . . . diebus . . . vixit*, so common on plebeian tombstones.

The word *celerius* (c. 13), in the sense of "hurry up," appears to be an instance of the comparative colloquially used till it has lost its special force. The conversational tendency to clip phrases is illustrated in the repeated use of *ex quo* (c. 1, etc.) for *ex quo tempore*, and the similar *ex eo* (c. 4), though this is a usage not uncommon in poetry.

It would be an interesting matter if we could know how far the introduction of "plebeian" elements into the satire is an affectation, and how far it simply reflects the conversational habits of the cultivated classes to which Seneca belonged. Apart from external comparison, there is a hint, perhaps, in the distribution of these elements in the satire itself. They seem to be grouped where they are wanted with a certain dramatic consistency. Whole paragraphs pass with little or nothing of the sort. Then enter the comic Hercules and the disputatious Fever, and diction of the most breezily colloquial character becomes abundant. Better, however, is the instance in chapter 9, where the gods in council are made to talk in a vernacular quite untrammelled by convention. *Mera mapalia*, *mimum*, and *vapulare* serve as punctuating words, and the string of diminutives, *nummulariolus*, *civitatulas*, and *auriculam*, is interesting for the peculiarity of its collo-

cation. Of the seven diminutives used in the *Apocolocyntosis*, six are in two groups of three each, these three within as many lines, and three in chapter 3 hardly more widely separated. It appears as if Seneca occasionally got to thinking in diminutives for the moment, an affectation so quickly becomes automatic. Augustus, in his speech, is discreetly treated in a sufficiently different style; and at the end of the debate we are quite brought around to the seriousness of the occasion with the formal parliamentary statement of the division of the house, *pedibus in hanc sententiam itum est.*

In the verses, the tone, for the most part, is quite the reverse of colloquial, and the syntax offers no great peculiarity. There are two or three instances of what may be called shifted agreement, a form of attraction perhaps, an adjective agreeing with the object instead of more logically with the subject, with adverbial effect: *fessas habenas* (c. 2) and *primos . . . axes* (c. 4), both of which certain critics have sought to avoid by emendation. *Medium . . . diviserat orbem* (c. 2) is probably to be explained on a similar principle.

The versification of the metrical passages demands little comment. Of the six pieces of verse (other than quoted fragments), four are in dactylic hexameter; one, where Hercules, *quo terribilior esset, tragicus fit*, is in the usual iambic *senarius* of the drama, and the dirge of chapter 12 is in anapestic dimeter (*quaternarius*), familiar as a choral meas-

ure in Seneca's tragedies. The hexameters are of Seneca's accustomed regularity. The *senarii* conform to the Greek limitations of iambic trimeter, with a rather high proportion of anapests, — seven in the fourteen lines, five of them being in the fifth place. The *proceleusmaticus* occurs once, in line 11. The anapestic *nenia* is written with more laxity, the substitution of the dactyl being very frequent, as is common elsewhere in this measure.

IV

That we have only fragments of Varro's Menippean satires and none of those of Menippus for comparison with Seneca's, has already been deplored. At a later day, however, the Greek satirists, Lucian and the Emperor Julian, offer some striking points of likeness. It is not to be shown that Lucian in his dialogues or Julian in his saturnalian tale of Romulus's banquet to the gods and Caesars is an imitator of the *Apocolocyntosis*, but it is hard to persuade ourselves that Lucian at least did not have this in mind in developing some of his ideas. He himself is one of the literary successors of Menippus, though his satires are cast in a somewhat different mould from those of the collateral branch which we have been studying. His obligations to Menippus he perhaps intended delicately to acknowledge by introducing him so frequently in the *Dialogues of*

the Dead, and with an almost unique consideration never putting him into compromising situations. The Gadarene cynic is with him always the amiable imperturbable inquirer, just the man indeed to have expressed himself in the calm and careless mixture of prose and verse which bears his name. Even Charon finds him respectable, and allows him alone of all the passengers to bring some of his equipment aboard the boat that crosses the Styx. So in fact we find Seneca complimenting his model, Varro, by having him quoted as an authority in the senate of heaven.

In the *Dialogues of the Gods*, Lucian habitually dealt with mythology in a way that was far from conventional. But the work that particularly concerns us is the Θεῶν Ἐκκλησία, and the *Decree* which supplements it. This is a special assembly of Olympus called to consider means of redress for the crowding of heaven by unworthy claimants to divine honors, — the very question raised in the heavenly senate by Claudius's application in the *Apocolocyntosis*, and discussed by Momus in much the same spirit as by Father Janus. In general, Lucian's *Council of the Gods* reads strikingly like a regular amplification of the idea suggested by the similar incident in our earlier satire. It may be said possibly that this kind of idea was to some extent common property. Literary archaeologists are certainly over prone to please themselves by precisely defining the indebtedness of an author's

fancies, and we know how quickly ideas come to be communistically held. No doubt the humorous possibilities created by some of the imperial apotheoses and other extensions of the catholic pagan pantheon were beginning to be appreciated by an enlarged Roman public. But Seneca's meeting of the celestial senate to debate over the admission of *divus Claudius* is so curiously paralleled by the cosmopolitan Greek's assembly of the gods to consider precisely the same sort of question, that it leaves us with at least a reasonable suspicion. There is indeed the difference, that in the *Apocolocyntosis* the virulence of the political pamphleteer rather runs away with the artistic effect: Augustus's speech is both long and sober, and overloaded with serious personalities; while Lucian carries through the idea undistorted. But apart from this there are both general and particular resemblances.

The very beginning of the Ἐκκλησία recalls the opening of chapter 9 of the *Apocolocyntosis*, where Jupiter admonishes the assembled gods to stop wrangling and come to order. In both accounts there is a tinge of mutual jealousy among the deities. Momus as chief spokesman is a fair parallel for both the clever Janus and the *nummulariolus* Diespiter, and the irregularities in the habits of Jove to which the first gives such liberal attention are at least hinted at in the innuendoes of chapter 8 in the *Apocolocyntosis*. Particularly

interesting is Lucian's *Decree*, which goes in several respects farther than either of the three in the *Apocolocyntosis*, but is decidedly similar in tone to the first one, and, like the last, concludes with the sentence that one who could not produce proofs of divinity should be expelled summarily from heaven, even if he were worshipped on earth, — as we are told at the end of chapter 8 (*Apoc.*) Claudius was by the Britons.

There is abundant evidence in the Θεῶν Ἐκκλησία that the religious conditions Lucian had especially in mind were Roman. Not to cite the introduction of Egyptian gods,[1] of whom Momus makes so much fun, and those of the Orient, all of which would apply equally well to the Greek world, there are distinctively the abstract gods, Virtue, Destiny, Fortune, and others who were very good deities at Rome but unsatisfactory as citizens of Olympus; and the numerous references to men ambitious of divinity seem to point to the explanation of the whole dialogue as an indirect satire — as direct as would be safe, perhaps, for a Greek — upon the easy immortalization of the emperors.

Another of Lucian's dialogues, that between Menecrates and Musonius, on Nero, is cited in the notes to chapter 4. At the end of it Nero's death is announced, and after Menecrates's congratulatory εὖ γε, ὦ θεοί, the last speech of Musonius has

[1] Cf. Seneca's allusion in εὑρήκαμεν συγχαίρωμεν, *Apoc.* c. 13.

a certain interest: Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπευχώμεθα· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς κειμένοις οὔ φασι δεῖν. If Lucian did have the *Apocolocyntosis* in mind, we have here his judgment upon one aspect of it.

The Emperor Julian, in writing his Καίσαρες, probably had Lucian's style as his model, and whether he had ever read the *Apocolocyntosis* we have no means of judging. His work is by no means so amusing. As Vavasseur quaintly compares it in his *De Ludicra Dictione*, *Mihi quidem Caesar is unus Senecae propemodum pluris est, quam cuncti Caesares ipsius Caesaris Iuliani.* Julian's gods are, as we should expect, somewhat rehabilitated in respectability, but there is an analogy to the theme of the *Apocolocyntosis* in the idea of introducing the Caesars one by one for Silenus jocosely to pass judgment upon them. His reception of Claudius,[1] too, is pertinent. Beginning in mock politeness to recite, from Aristophanes's *Knights*, the description of the stupid and choleric old man Demos, he turns then to Quirinus to reproach him for having brought Claudius without the freedmen who had charge of his soul. The Καίσαρες also is Menippean in the sense of being a mixture of prose and verse, though the proportion of the latter is small. The character, however, is the same.

This can hardly be said of another late work that has been cited among the Menippeans, the

[1] In c. 6.

De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, which forms the first two books of the *Satiricon* of Martianus Capella, so extensively used as a school-book in the Middle Ages. It appears to be an imitation of Varro in many points; but its intentions are so obviously serious that it is a species of Menippean satire with the satire left out. The title is the most humorous thing about it. Still further removed, in the same category, is the *Mythologicon* of Fulgentius Planciades, a pedantic and obscure book which has been thought to be an imitation of Petronius's *Satiricon*.

Coming to the time of the Renaissance, we find two confessed attempts at a revival of the Menippean satire. They are *Justi Lipsi Satyra Menippea*, *Somnium* (*Lusus in nostri Aevi Criticos*), and *Petri Cunaei Sardi Venales, Satyra Menippea; in huius saeculi homines plerosque inepte eruditos.* The titles are borrowed, one apparently from Cicero and the other from Varro, of whose satire called *Sardi Venales*[1] a single fragment is preserved in Nonius, or perhaps directly from the familiar proverb, given by Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam.* vii. 24, *fin.*), *Sardi Venales alius alio nequior;* but both of them begin in obvious imitation of Seneca's *Ludus*, practically their only Latin model, in fact.

It was while the brilliant Lipsius was a professor of history at Leyden (1579–1590) that he published

[1] For the original incident to which Varro's use of the title was due, see Aur. Vict. (*Vir. Illustr.* c. lvii): *altero consulatu* [*Tib.*

his *Somnium*, [*satyra*] *apta ad ritum prisci Senatus*, as one of the subtitles explains it. It is dedicated to Joseph Scaliger, and with the estimable double purpose [*ut*] *te delectet, iuventutem doceat: cui etiam remissiones nostras volumus servire.* The high-bred wit of this parody might well have served for more frequent reading to many of the text critics at whose methods its irony is directed.

It begins in the very beat and measure of the *Apocolocyntosis: Quid hoc anno Romae in Senatu dictum, actum, cautum sit, volo memoriae prodere. Frustra me respicis cum sublato digito, Sigalion; non debet silentio perire res tam magna. Dicam quae vidi, quae audivi, quibus interfui. quis vetat? Ego scio coactores abisse, et niveam libertatem redisse. Si vera dicam, agnoscite: si falsa, ignoscite,* etc. Beginning chapter 2, the hour is described:

> *Desierant latrare canes, urbesque silebant,*
> *Omnia noctis erant placida composta quiete,*

vel, ut cum Varrone clarius dicam, iam noctis meridies erat: cum tetigit me virga valentiore Dius somnus. Autumni tempus erat, etc. The first man he meets in his dream, an old friend, addresses him with the Homeric line, Τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν, πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδε τοκῆες; and he replies, "*Itaque ergo excidit tibi Lipsius tuus?*" *inquam,* "*an notorem me dare vis?*"

Sempronius Gracchus] *Sardiniam domuit, tantumque captivorum adduxit, ut longa venditione res in proverbium veniret, Sardi Venales.*

Not to go on citing details, — and Lipsius's borrowings, in true Menippean tradition, are from everywhere, though his special obligation to the *Apocolocyntosis* is most constantly in evidence, — the meeting of the senate to which his dream admits him is one in which the classical Latin writers are gathered to discuss means of redress against the modern critics who by emendations and conjectures have been pulling ancient literature to pieces, — a sufficiently vital question, one would think, if the classical authors have ever been inclined to turn in their graves. The attendance at the meeting seems to be large and enthusiastic. We find the consul, Cicero, announcing (c. 14): *Patres Conscripti, multa hodie frequentia est, itaque non ibo per singulos: per Saturam exquirendae sententiae sunt. Dic, si quis voles e Poetis.* There are speeches by Sallust, Ovid, Varro, Pliny, and others, and at the end an elaborate *senatus consultum*, disposing variously of the different sorts of critics of whom the authors had complained.

On his own account Lipsius adds a useful remark *ad lectorem: Quaedam in hoc scripto obscuriora fore iuventuti scio, Lector: idque consulto consilio a nobis factum. Satyra enim aliter non fit.*

The *Sardi Venales* of Cunaeus is another of the books perhaps nearly enough forgotten to be "as good as manuscript." It is, however, a more ponderous as well as somewhat longer piece than the *Somnium*, to the suggestion of which there is some

temptation to suspect it owes its existence. It has the air, if one may particularize so far, of being an imitation of an imitation, and at times it appears as if the writer stopped and took pains to say something a little differently from what he had intended, lest his indebtedness to his recent model should be too patent. The attack upon *homines inepte eruditos* was a good idea, but hardly one to be developed with such laborious humor.

It was directed against the theologians of the Reformation. The materials upon which it draws, however, are chiefly pagan, the scene being laid in the Epicurean *intermundia*, where the shades convene with Erasmus as president. The speeches reveal a good deal of conservatism among the shadowy denizens of that country. Menippus appears incidentally, as he did in the *Somnium:* in fact, Cunaeus seems to have drawn upon Lucian more than Lipsius did. In both of these Menippean satires the admixture of verse is only in the form of an occasional brief quotation from one of the poets. Petrus Cunaeus (van der Kun) was professor of Latin, then of jurisprudence and politics, at Leyden, where the *Sardi Venales* was published in 1612, along with a translation of Julian's *Caesares*. It was often reprinted, *e.g.* in 1617 at the end of a volume containing Erasmus's *Encomium Moriae* and Lipsius's *Somnium*. In 1720, at Leipzig, appeared Cortius's edition of *Tres Satyrae Menippeae*, *i.e.* the *Apocolocyntosis*, Lipsius's *Som-*

nium, and Cunaeus's *Sardi Venales*, with annotations.

Of less-defined traces of the literary influence of the *Apocolocyntosis* it would, of course, be futile to attempt anything like an enumeration. Petronius has been claimed as at some points an imitator of Seneca's satire, though upon grounds hardly more substantial than similarities due to the fact that both authors drew freely upon colloquial sources for their language. Lucan's verses (*Phars.* vi. 785 *seq.*) in which the ghost raised by the witch to prophesy to Sextus describes the angry shades in Hades, have been called an imitation of the passage in the *Apocolocyntosis* (c. 13) where the hostile assemblage of Claudius's victims gathers to meet him in the same region. It seems to me that there is no more reason to think that Lucan is imitating his uncle Seneca than that he is imitating Vergil, or that, having a situation more or less conventional, he treats it in a way which follows the line of least resistance.

A passage in Ausonius, however, who was a professed borrower, certainly does read like a reminiscence. It is in a letter to his son (*Ep.* xxiii[1]), referred to in the notes. After some verses poetically defining the season and the hour, somewhat similar to those in Seneca's chapter 2, he resumes prose with the remark, *Nescis, puto, quid velim tot versibus dicere, medius fidius neque ego bene*

[1] Teub. ed., p. 266.

intellego: tamen suspicor. iam prima nox erat ante diem nonum decimum Kal. Ian. cum . . . etc. This seems to be a genially intended parody.

A similar but modern trace appears in Paul Scarron's *Roman comique* (Paris, 1651). Of course it is true that the mock-heroic style is essentially the same in all situations, and that coincidence will account for many resemblances. But Scarron showed in his *Virgile travesti* what he could do in one direction, and the manner of the *Roman comique* as a whole reminds us strongly of Petronius. Indeed, Scarron seems often to have the self-conscious air that comes with the attempt at either imitation or avoidance. But at least in his opening lines his obligation seems to be particular rather than general, and to the same model as that of Ausonius already quoted. He begins, *Le soleil avoit achevé plus de la moitié de sa course, et son char ayant attrappé le penchant du monde, rouloit plus vîte qu'il ne vouloit.* Then a bit of playful elaboration is followed by, *Pour parler plus humainement et plus intelligiblement, il étoit entre cinq et six, quand une charrette entra dans les Halles du Mans,* etc.

Hardly to be passed over in the quest of similarities[1] are Southey's and Byron's *Visions of Judgment,* describing the appearance of George III before the bar of heavenly justice. The composi-

[1] See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire,* c. 50, *fin.*

tion of the poet laureate is not very much in the spirit of Seneca's satire, but perhaps equally with Byron's, which is quite so, it suggests that the author had the same sort of data for his poetical problem in mind. There are one or two phrases in Byron's verses, however, which particularly intimate his reading of the *Apocolocyntosis*, *e.g.* in stanza ix: —

> "And no great dearth
> Of aught but tears — save those shed by collusion,"

which last looks like a possible misreading of the phrase in the *Apocolocyntosis* (c. 12), *plane ex animo.* Then there are the lines in stanza xii: —

> "The king who comes has head and all entire,
> And never knew much what it was about —
> He did as doth the puppet — by its wire,"

etc., which, as well as some other lines, recalls points in the characterization of Claudius. A parallel might of course be fancied, too, between the situations of Byron's St. Peter and Seneca's Hercules meeting Claudius at the heavenly gate.

Another passage that has been cited in comparison with our satire is that in Shakespeare's *Richard III* (Act i. sc. 4), as referred to in the notes to chapter 13. Here, however, no claims can be plausibly made beyond those of mere resemblance.

In a work of the ninth century, the *Vita Walae* of Radbertus, which is included in Mabillon's collection of the *Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti*, is

a passage quite distinctly plagiarized from the first chapter of the *Apocolocyntosis*, as Mabillon is said to have pointed out. The passage extends from *quis umquam ab historico iuratores exegit* to *etiamsi in medio foro hominem occiso vidisset*, inclusive. Since this is perhaps older than any of the existing manuscripts of the *Ludus* itself, it has a certain interest in text criticism, for which it is cited by F. Jonas (*Hermes*, vi. 126). It is referred to in the notes.

V

As to an author's popularity in the Middle Ages, the number of manuscripts which have come down to us containing his works is a natural evidence. Judged in this way, Seneca on the whole fared well. We should expect it of a writer who, in spite of his pagan limitations, was unofficially canonized by the Church, and made the beneficiary of pious forgery. Naturally, however, the regard of the ecclesiastical arbiters of taste was less keen for the satire than for the moral essays. The *Ludus* was sufficiently overlooked at least to be counted a discovery when, in the Revival of Learning, as the classics were being rapidly brought out in printed editions, this found its way to the press.

The manuscript source of this first publication (1513) is unknown. The text was *nuper in Germania repertus* when carried to Rome, certainly in a very imperfect condition, lacking the Greek

quotations and including a number of interpolated passages.

The principal manuscript texts known and collated by the more recent critics are enumerated in the following list, compiled chiefly from the accounts of Ruhkopf, Fickert, Schenkl, and especially Bücheler:

Codex Sangallensis, in the library of St. Gall, No. 569, containing lives of the saints, etc., written by various hands in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Page 243 begins with the title, *Diui Claudii incipit* ΑΠΟΘΗΟCΙC *Annei Senece per satiram.* The piece ends on page 251 with *Diui Claudii explicit Apotheosis Annei Senecae persaturam.* It is written on parchment, thirty-two lines to the page, the initial letters of sentences and verses and the Greek being in red. Punctuation is abundant, though sometimes incorrect. A comparison of this manuscript with Lipsius's second edition (Antwerp, 1615), is given by Orelli in the *Epistola Critica ad Madvigium*, prefixed to his edition of Cicero, *Orator*, etc., Zürich, 1830. Bücheler had two careful comparisons of the St. Gall manuscript made for him, one with Haase's and the other with Schusler's text.

Codex Valenciennensis, in the library of Valenciennes, No. 190,[1] considered to be of the end

[1] See Leopold Delisle, on the *Catalogue . . . des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Valenciennes*, *Journal des Savants*, 1860, pp. 377–378.

of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, since it is inscribed as written by the presbyter Hucbaldus. It is a parchment 12mo, containing a variety of pieces. According to Oehler, who collated it for Fickert, the title of the satire is given as *Senece Ludus de morte Claudii*, while at the end comes the epigram, of uncertain application:

> *Damnabis numquam longum post tempus amicum;*
> *Mutavit mores sed pignora prima memento.*

This manuscript is said to be the same that was used by H. Junius, under the name of the *Codex Amandi*.

The Wolfenbüttel manuscript (*Codex Guelferbytanus*) *Extravag.* 299, an Italian parchment of the fifteenth century, containing besides our satire the *Satiricon* of Petronius and two other works. It begins (fol. 2a), *Ludus Senece de morte Claudii Neronis foeliciter Incipit*, and closes (fol. 16b) after *ut cognationibus abesset* (sic), with the double *subscriptio*, *Ludus Senecae de morte Claudii Neronis finit Foeliciter* and *Lucii Annei Senecae Satira de Claudio Cesare Finit foeliciter*. The text contains many errors, and lacks the Greek quotations.

In the French *Bibliothèque Nationale* are a number of manuscripts which were collated for Ruhkopf. They are all of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and the titles where given are always with the word *Ludus* in some form.

Paris. No. 6630, of the thirteenth century, 110 parchment leaves in small 8 vo. On folio 98a: *L. Annei Senece de Beneficiis libri VII explicit feliciter, incipit eiusdem Senece Ludus de Morte Claudii Caesaris.* On folio 103b, *Explicit Ludus Sence.* [sic] *incipiunt proverbia eiusdem Senecae per ordinem alphabeti.* This manuscript is carefully written, and in comparison with the following ones offers a but slightly corrupted text. The Greek is carefully copied. It was collated for Bücheler by A. Holder.

Paris. No. 8717, a parchment of the fourteenth century. Between the title and the satire is inserted Martial's *Epigram*, v. 42. The text is hastily written and the Greek quotations are lacking, except in chapter 4. Compared throughout for Bücheler.

Paris. No. 1936, parchment, of the fourteenth century.

Paris. No. 6389, parchment, of the fourteenth century.

Paris. No. 5055, an Italian manuscript on paper; of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

Paris. No. 6395, parchment, of the fourteenth century, lacking the Greek passages, and without spaces left for them.

Paris. No. 8544, parchment, written 1389 A.D.; it is without title and contains only the first part of the text, ending, curiously, with *Quod nunc profani*

vocis incerto sonas? (c.7) at the bottom of a page, *deo gratias explicit.* The next page begins with the *De Clementia.*

Paris. No. 8542, parchment, of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, lacking the Greek, but with spaces left for it.

Paris. No. 8501A, of the end of the thirteenth century; it contains only the beginning of the satire.

Paris. No. 8624, of the thirteenth century; giving the title, but containing only the beginning of the satire. This Bücheler had compared for chapters 1 and 2.

Not collated for Ruhkopf, were —

Paris. No. 2389, of the fourteenth century, lacking the Greek; collated for Bücheler for chapter 10, and

Paris. No. (Supplem.) 1213, reported to Bücheler by A. Holder.

In the Vatican library, four manuscripts given by Ruhkopf as up to his time uncollated, and having the title, *Ludus de Morte Claudii Caesaris*, in —

Vatican. No. 2201, parchment folio, of the thirteenth century.

Vatican. No. 2212, an ornate German parchment folio, of the fifteenth century.

Vatican. No. 2216, parchment folio, of the fourteenth century.

Vatican. No. 4498, parchment quarto, of the fifteenth century.

Also reported to Ruhkopf was a manuscript in St. Mark's Library, Venice, Codex No. 267, a quarto of the fourteenth. century, badly written and full of errors.

According to Fickert,[1] *Gronovius bis laudat Cod. Harlemensem; Lipsius (Epp. Q.) aliquoties suum.*

The so-called *Codex Weissenburgensis*, used by B. Rhenanus, and the *Codex Curionis*, as well as the unknown manuscript which was the source of the *editio princeps*, are not at present identifiable, even if in existence.

As to the relative critical value of the different *codices*, the St. Gall manuscript is recognized in general as undoubtedly the best. The Valenciennes manuscript is, except in a few points, considered second to this, all the others being later and inferior. The existing manuscripts appear all to have been derived from the same archetype, from which, judging from the lacuna before chapter 8, at least one leaf must have been missing. The St. Gall text is nearest this original one. The Valenciennes manuscript, even though it be chronologically earlier, is farther removed from the primitive in order of copy.[2] It and all the other manuscripts belong, as opposed to the St. Gall *codex*, in one group. The title which they give, where it is not omitted,

[1] Gruter, he said, had no manuscript guide.

[2] Schenkl condemns Wehle for saying that St. G. is evidently nearer the source than Val., apparently overlooking this very simple explanation.

is *Ludus* instead of the *Apotheosis* of the St. Gall. Within the text also the variations show the same relation. A typical instance of this is the sentence in chapter 3, which in the St. Gall manuscript is *quid huic et rei publicae invides?* while in the others it is, with minor variations, *quid huic invides? respondit*, etc., *reip̃* having been changed into *respondit* and transposed in position. The St. Gall manuscript is said to be freer than any of the others from senseless blunders of the copyist, though, as Rossbach points out, in certain points the Valenciennes text is more accurate than the St. Gall. In two or three instances, referred to in the notes, errors in the latter text are corrected by a consensus of the others.

VI

The *editio princeps* of the *Ludus* was published at Rome in 1513. Apparently it has been little known.[1] It is a thin pamphlet of only twenty-four pages small quarto, unnumbered, and its explanation of itself is unfortunately somewhat meagre. The title-page reads, *Lucii Annaei Senecae in morte Claudii Caesaris Ludus nuper repertus.* Then comes the dedicatory letter, *Alberto Pio Carporum principi illustrissimo, Imp. Caesaris Maximiliani Augusti legato, C. Sylvanus Germanicus salutem.*

[1] Neither Ruhkopf nor Fickert had seen it, and some of the editors appear not to have been aware of its existence. The library of Columbia University acquired a copy in 1901.

About three pages follow, highly complimentary to Albert the Pious, setting forth the difficulty of being so good a prince as he, and the appropriateness of dedicating to him a satire on so bad a one as Claudius had been. *Nostri maiores*, says the editor, *bonos [principes] meritis laudibus extulerunt: malos vero & detestati sunt: & in eos superstites adhuc scommata: aut in defunctos ediderunt loedoria. Scilicet ut tanq[uam] in speculo facultas videndi principibus esset, quos aut emularentur aut fugerent. Ex quibus unus L. Annaeus Seneca in morte Claudii Caesaris, qui nisi Neronem adoptasset quis inter Caesares crudelior habendus fuerit, S.P.Q.R. dubitavisset, libellum edidit, quo maxime ipsum Claudium deridet.*

The letter presently includes a remark more important: *Quare cum sis doctissimus & antiquitatum amantissimus, hoc opusculum, quod in tenebris tot annis, paucisque admodum notum fuit, tibi dicare & omnibus impartire duxi. Tum quod qui hoc legerint, per te id legisse cognoscant: tibique id accoeptum referant. Tum quia Senecae: si qua cura mortuos tangit: id futurum non minime voluptati spero, quod ludus suus nomine tuo insignitus tandem emergat in lucem. Qui princeps es & re & nomine pius. Tu vero qualecumque fit quod offero, vultu hilari accipito. Quando non hoc opusculum, sed meipsum tibi dedo & dedico perpetuum mancipium. Vale decus heroum. Romae quarto Nonas Augusti MDXIII.*

Then, just before the text of the satire itself comes the not very brilliant epigram entitled, *Mariangelus Accursius Sylvano:*

Finge alios post te ludo hoc quaecumque supersunt
Aedere iam decus id cedit utrunque tibi
Annaeum nam dum properas ab labe veterni
Asserere, invitos elicis invidulos.

After the end of the satire is added this note, *Lectori:*

Qualem hunc mecum e Germania Ludum attuli visum est aedere atque impertire studiosis, ut nostrum est ingenium prodesse velle plurimis. Quae autem mendosa videbantur paucula pudore nostro non corrigimus. tum spatium ad excribenda graeca quae desiderabantur linquimus: ut integrum sit bono cuique meliora et adiicere et instaurare.

On the whole, the editor's is a scanty piece of work, too much so, it would seem, even to justify Mariangelus Accursius. One is tempted to think that Sylvanus had other and unavowed reasons for so hastily putting his prize into print, the fear, perhaps, that some one else would forestall his intention of using it as a means to princely favor.

The text itself, as he gives it, is evidently taken from one of the inferior group of manuscripts. The Greek quotations, as he says, are altogether lacking, and spaces are left blank for filling them in. There are, however, a number of interpolated passages, some not found in any existing manu-

script, of which Schenkl gives the evident explanation: that some *homo doctus*, having one of the later manuscripts and knowing Suetonius and Juvenal, set out to fix up the text afterward published by Sylvanus, who for himself professes that he did nothing at all to his material. The unknown emender simply took liberties with his author. The interpolations thus made, however, after being detached from the text, have the same claim to our attention as early *scholia;* they are mentioned in the notes as the passages occur.

The first annotated edition of the *Ludus* was by Rhenanus at Basle, not quite two years later than the *editio princeps*. His was entitled, *Ludus L. Annaei Senecae de morte Claudii Caesaris nuper in Germania repertus cum scholiis Beati Rhenani.* On the same title-page appear a translation of *Synesius Cyrenensis de laudibus Calvitii*, also edited by Rhenanus, and *Erasmi Roterodami Moriae Encomium.* It is dated, *Basileae in aedibus Ioannis Frobenii mense Martio anno MDXV.* The text of this edition was taken from the *editio princeps*, with such minor corrections as the editor out of his own resources could make, and *scholiis ex Suetonio et Tacito tumultuanter adnotatis.* It is interesting especially for his attempt to supply, as he says, *divinando*, some of the missing Greek quotations. In one instance he succeeded in divining the same bit of Greek which was afterward found in the manuscripts, viz. Hercules's question to Clau-

dius in chapter 5, *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν*, etc. (See note on the passage.)

Later in the same year, 1515, Rhenanus's text and commentary of the *Ludus* were included in Erasmus's first great edition of the two Senecas, and this appears to have been the earliest text accessible to many of the later scholars who have dealt with the satire.

Some time after his first work upon it Rhenanus found the manuscript of the *Ludus*, referred to as the *Codex Weissenburgensis*, from which he could correct his Greek conjectures. His commentary was repeated in many successive editions of Seneca's works, and has of course been, by reason of its priority at least, subject to selection ever since.

Other commentators' names appear with their works in the bibliography appended to this introduction. Notable among the early ones were C. S. Curio, Hadrianus Junius, Nic. Faber, Daniel Heinsius, and Justus Lipsius. The first application of the title *Apocolocyntosis* to the *Ludus* of the manuscripts and the first editions is ascribed to Junius. In 1557 appeared the edition of Seneca's works, edited by Coelius Secundus Curio, in which the satire is printed with its Greek designation. Curio prefaces his own *castigationes* with the assertion that he had himself applied the title from Dio, and called it to the attention of Hervagius several years previously, before Junius *in suis Animadversorum libris* had independently come out with the

same idea. In this same edition are also given the notes of Junius, rather oddly with the designation, *In Senecae Ludum de morte Claudii*, and his own claims for the propriety of using *Apocolocyntosis* as the title, repeating his earlier arguments. The edition reprints, besides, the *scholia* of Rhenanus.

In 1632, from the Plantin printing-house at Antwerp, came the third Lipsius edition of (Lucius) Seneca's works, with the *Scholia ad Ludum*, by Libertus Fromond, which were repeated in the fourth Lipsius edition by the same publisher in 1652, and in the Elzevir edition of 1672.

In 1675 appeared the notes of Io. Scheffer to the *Apocolocyntosis*, which are *exigui momenti*, as Ruhkopf says, but quaint enough to be curious.

During the eighteenth century, a period, so far as Seneca's works were concerned, chiefly of editions with "selected" notes, a few small separate editions of the *Ludus* were brought out, among which that of Neubur (1729) is often admirable in its critical appreciation, and that of Guasco (1787) is notable for its introduction of epigraphic and numismatic material by way of illustration.

The edition of Seneca by Ruhkopf (Vol. IV, 1808) with that of Sonntag a few years before, made an important epoch in the literary history of the satire. In some respects this has found no more sympathetic critic than Ruhkopf, who was willing to explain some of the passages upon which earlier commentators had too enterprisingly

cast suspicion. He also reverts to the title, *Ludus de Morte*, etc., of his manuscripts, instead of taking the name from Dio. His collation of the Paris and Vatican *codices* has already been noted.

Fickert's edition is noteworthy for the relatively greater importance which it gives to a collation of the Valenciennes manuscript. His title is *L. Annaei Senecae Ludus de morte Claudii.* Schusler (1844) makes a more extensive use of the St. Gall text, a collation of which had been made accessible by Orelli in 1830, and uses the name *Apocolocyntosis.* The Teubner edition of Seneca, by F. Haase (1852 *seq.*), is characteristically conservative in its treatment of the satire. It gives simply the manuscript title, *Ludus*, etc., and many of the interpolated readings traditional from the first edition are included in smaller type and brackets.

By far the greatest work upon the *Apocolocyntosis* is that of Professor Franz Bücheler, in his edition of 1864, p. 31 *seq.*, of the *Symbola Philologorum Bonnensium.* His is the most complete overhauling of the traditional text. Various detached critical contributions had been made in recent years by which he could profit; but his own emendations are important and, for the most part, needless to say, convincing. Conspicuous is the instance in chapter 10, where, in a meaningless string of Greek letters, he finds inverted the proverb which appears in the *Paroemiographi Graeci* as Γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον.

Bücheler's comparisons of the manuscripts led him to give more unqualified preponderance to that of St. Gall than had any of the other editors, and he follows it throughout with comparatively few exceptions. Seneca's authorship of the satire, and its identity with the work alluded to in Dio, lx. 35, he regards as beyond gainsaying, and accordingly *Apocolocyntosis* is the title which he uses. His historical and literary notes add much to the store of material already accumulated.

His text he has reprinted, with some minor changes, in his smaller edition of Petronius in 1871, 1882, and 1895.

Literary appreciation of a work like Seneca's satire is perhaps more freely indicated in translations than in textual criticism. In this direction more has been done by the French; the remark is a commonplace that they among modern readers of Seneca have most entered into his feeling for style and sententious finish. The wit of the burlesque on Claudius they have perhaps not the less appreciated, for regarding it less on its problematic and philological sides.

Notable among the Frenchmen who have translated the *Apocolocyntosis* is Jean Jacques Rousseau. His and Erasmus's are the two great modern literary names with which the piece has special associations, Erasmus possibly owing the suggestion of proverbs from it among his *Adagia* to the fact that his edition of Seneca's works was the first to

include the newly recovered satire. Rousseau's *Traduction de l'Apocolokintosis* is of no great scientific consequence. It was possibly written for practice in composition, as he says was his translation of the first book of Tacitus, in connection with which he so cheerfully admits the possibility of error: *entendant médiocrement le Latin, et souvent n'entendant point mon auteur.* He adds some notes, but makes small pretence of investigation. For instance, in speaking of the passage, *Phormea Graece*, etc. (according to the traditional reading, c. 10), which, with more frankness than some commentators, he simply says that he does not understand at all, he mistakenly thinks that he might have got some help from Erasmus's *Adages*, but had not access to them. The main significance of the translation is its evidence of Rousseau's liking.

Another French version, more interesting on its own account, is that of V. Develay of the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, a minute volume published by the *Académie des Bibliophiles* in 1867. This is apparently based on the text in the Lemaire edition of Seneca. Other translations[1] appear in the numerous editions of Seneca's works in French. Among the more recent German translations may be noted that given by A. Stahr as a documentary appendix to his *Agrippina*. Still later is the Italian

[1] Duruy, in his *Histoire des Romains* (Vol. III. p. 551), gives an extended résumé of the *Apocolocyntosis* in its historical connection.

version by Verdaro, which is based upon Bücheler's recension of the text.

In English a translation of the *Apocolocyntosis* has but very lately been published. It is by Forrest Morgan, in a collection called the *Universal Anthology* (1899–1902); its readings are not from the most recently edited texts. The well-known version of the *Works of Seneca* by Thomas Lodge (London, 1620, etc.) does not contain the satire.[1]

If a classification were to be made of the commentators who, either in editions or in detached notes, have contributed to the criticism of the *Apocolocyntosis*, it might fairly be by way of recalling Lipsius's dream on the emenders of the classics, according to their inclinations to explain things as they are or fix them as they should have been. From disputed passages in the text an interesting list could be gathered of philological motes rather too easily cast out, including for instance such as *aeque Homericus* (c. 5), condemned by Bücheler, Wehle, and Wachsmuth, *Luguduni natus est* (c. 6), by Mähly and Wachsmuth, *iusserat illi collum praecidi* (c. 6), rejected by Bücheler in his edition of 1864, but in his later text made an integral part of the thought by a rearrangement of the sentences, *aut ex his quos alit ζείδωρος ἄρουρα* (c. 9), branded as a gloss by Heinsius, Scheffer, Wachsmuth, etc., and numer-

[1] Merivale quotes from it extensively in his *History of the Romans under the Empire* (ch. 50).

ous others. In proposed changes in the text, the line is of course difficult to draw between a clever conjecture and a convincing correction, and ingenuity is apt to carry more than its due weight. An example of this kind, it seems to me, is Bücheler's *Tiburi* for *tibi* in chapter 7, which is interesting but not required. In general the improvements of the text have been to a great extent a process of eliminating the interpolations which appeared in the *editio princeps*, some of which the manuscripts exhibit in varying degrees, but from which the St. Gall and Valenciennes *codices*, as the oldest, are most nearly free. Another important matter has been the identification of the omitted or hopelessly corrupt Greek quotations.

Such a work as our satire is of course largely a matter of allusion only partially capable of elucidation. And it is a graceless editorial function to say at every turn, this is the point of the joke, and incidentally, it was first seen and recorded by such and such a commentator. Yet after all, the points are the main thing, though that they should become altogether obvious now is not to be expected. As a result of the unstinted efforts of the critics to make them so, there appear to us fairly defined gradations, from very palpable hits, through probable and possible hits, down to matters which bear no sign of being hits at all. Occasionally, as has been realized with some modern authors, a passage may be made to mean too much; this

seems to be the trouble with such an emendation as that of *omnia monstra* (c. 6) to *iunonia monstra.*

In reading three-hundred-year-old annotations upon a work which still invites to similar effort, one is struck by the difference between the attitude of the men of the early classical revival and that of the typical philologian of the last half-century. The style of commentary which consists chiefly in calling attention to *sententiae elegantes* and their kind has of course long gone out of fashion. Yet though it is easy and not very useful, it does indicate an enjoyment of its classic material no less real than ostentatious. It seems, too, quite possible that the most exact scholarship has not always succeeded in making the most of the chestnuts which it has managed to pull out of the fire. The simplicity of the earlier day led to various naïvetés, some of them due perhaps to the deterrent effect of writing in a language whose current idioms had become proper in proportion as they were hackneyed; the respectable schoolman, adapting his ideas to the phrases the classical flavor of which would unimpeachably show his appreciation of style, satisfied himself with little or pleased himself with much, as one may choose to put it. But when the method of dealing with the classics as a mesh of scientific problems has passed a certain point, the claims of simple appreciation, aided by all that the other

has done for its psychological requirements, renew their force. The *Apocolocyntosis*, for its part, will serve quite as well for entertainment as for a mine of philological material.

I have perhaps gone to too great a length in introducing it, to avow my purpose in the quaint words of Rhenanus, *quo magis ad se lectorem . . . invitet.* This, however, is to be desired. For while the *Apocolocyntosis* cannot precisely be called a representative specimen of Seneca's works, its place in them is important. Belonging as it does to his relations with two emperors, it is not only intimately connected with his life as a statesman, but cannot be overlooked in the true representation of his temper as a philosopher.

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SENECAE APOCOLOCYNTOSIS

L. ANNAEI SENECAE LUDUS DE MORTE CLAUDII CAESARIS VEL APOCOLOCYNTOSIS

Quid actum sit in caelo ante diem III. idus 1
Octobris anno novo, initio saeculi felicissimi, volo
memoriae tradere. nihil nec offensae nec gratiae
dabitur. haec ita vera. si quis quaesiverit unde
5 sciam, primum, si noluero, non respondebo. quis
coacturus est? ego scio me liberum factum, ex
quo suum diem obiit ille, qui verum proverbium
fecerat, aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere. si
libuerit respondere, dicam quod mihi in buccam
10 venerit. quis unquam ab historico iuratores exe-
git? tamen si necesse fuerit auctorem producere,
quaerito ab eo qui Drusillam euntem in caelum
vidit: idem Claudium vidisse se dicet iter facien-
tem 'non passibus aequis.' velit nolit, necesse est
15 illi omnia videre, quae in caelo aguntur: Appiae
viae curator est, qua scis et divum Augustum et
Tiberium Caesarem ad deos isse. hunc si interro-
gaveris, soli narrabit: coram pluribus nunquam
verbum faciet. nam ex quo in senatu iuravit se

The readings of Bücheler's *editio minor*, where different from those of the text, are given in foot-notes.

Drusillam vidisse caelum ascendentem et illi pro tam bono nuntio nemo credidit, quod viderit verbis conceptis affirmavit se non indicaturum, etiam si in medio foro hominem occisum vidisset. ab hoc ego quae tum audivi, certa clara affero, ita illum salvum et felicem habeam.

2 iam Phoebus breviore via contraxerat ortum
lucis et obscuri crescebant tempora somni,
iamque suum victrix augebat Cynthia regnum
et deformis hiemps gratos carpebat honores
divitis autumni visoque senescere Baccho
carpebat raras serus vindemitor uvas.

puto magis intellegi, si dixero: mensis erat October, dies III. idus Octobris. horam non possum certam tibi dicere, facilius inter philosophos quam inter horologia conveniet, tamen inter sextam et septimam erat. 'nimis rustice!' inquies: 'sunt omnes poetae non contenti ortus et occasus describere, ut etiam medium diem inquietent; tu sic transibis horam tam bonam?'

iam medium curru Phoebus diviserat orbem
et propior nocti fessas quatiebat habenas
obliquo flexam deducens tramite lucem:

3 Claudius animam agere coepit nec invenire exitum poterat. tum Mercurius, qui semper ingenio eius delectatus esset, unam e tribus Parcis seducit et

2 [*quod viderit*]. 7 ortum, *orbem*. 11 visoque, *iussoque*. 17 sunt, *cum*. 19 [*ut*].

ait: 'quid, femina crudelissima, hominem miserum torqueri pateris? nec unquam tam diu cruciatus cesset? annus sexagesimus quartus est, ex quo cum anima luctatur. quid huic et rei publicae invides? patere mathematicos aliquando verum dicere, qui illum, ex quo princeps factus est, omnibus annis, omnibus mensibus efferunt. et tamen non est mirum si errant et horam eius nemo novit; nemo enim unquam illum natum putavit. fac quod faciendum est:

"dede neci, melior vacua sine regnet in aula."'

sed Clotho 'ego mehercules' inquit 'pusillum temporis adicere illi volebam, dum hos pauculos, qui supersunt, civitate donaret; constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos togatos videre; sed quoniam placet aliquos peregrinos in semen relinqui et tu ita iubes fieri, fiat.' aperit tum capsulam et tres fusos profert: unus erat Augurini, alter Babae, tertius Claudii. 'hos' inquit 'tres uno anno exiguis intervallis temporum divisos mori iubebo, nec illum incomitatum dimittam. non oportet enim eum, qui modo se tot milia hominum sequentia videbat, tot praecedentia, tot circumfusa, subito solum destitui. contentus erit his interim convictoribus.'

haec ait et turpi convolvens stamina fuso 4
abrupit stolidae regalia tempora vitae.
at Lachesis redimita comas, ornata capillos,

[14] *constituerat . . . videre*, enclosed in dashes.

Pieria crinem lauro frontemque coronans
candida de niveo subtemina vellere sumit
felici moderanda manu, quae ducta colorem
assumpsere novum. mirantur pensa sorores:
mutatur vilis pretioso lana metallo,
aurea formoso descendunt saecula filo.
nec modus est illis, felicia vellera ducunt
et gaudent implere manus, sunt dulcia pensa.
sponte sua festinat opus nulloque labore
mollia contorto descendunt stamina fuso.
vincunt Tithoni, vincunt et Nestoris annos.
Phoebus adest cantuque iuvat gaudetque futuris
et laetus nunc plectra movet, nunc pensa ministrat.
detinet intentas cantu fallitque laborem.
dumque nimis citharam fraternaque carmina laudant,
plus solito nevere manus humanaque fata
laudatum transcendit opus. 'ne demite, Parcae'
Phoebus ait 'vincat mortalis tempora vitae
ille mihi similis vultu similisque decore
nec cantu nec voce minor. felicia lassis
saecula praestabit legumque silentia rumpet.
qualis discutiens fugientia Lucifer astra
aut qualis surgit redeuntibus Hesperus astris,
qualis cum primum tenebris Aurora solutis
induxit rubicunda diem, Sol aspicit orbem
lucidus et primos a carcere concitat axes:
talis Caesar adest, talem iam Roma Neronem
aspiciet. flagrat nitidus fulgore remisso
vultus et adfuso cervix formosa capillo.'

haec Apollo. at Lachesis, quae et ipsa homini formosissimo faveret, fecit illud plena manu, et Neroni multos annos de suo donat. Claudium autem iubent omnes

χαίροντας, εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

et ille quidem animam ebulliit, et ex eo desiit vivere videri. expiravit autem dum comoedos audit, ut scias me non sine causa illos timere. ultima vox eius haec inter homines audita est, cum maiorem sonitum emisisset illa parte, qua facilius loquebatur: 'vae me, puto, concacavi me.' quod an fecerit, nescio: omnia certe concacavit.

quae in terris postea sint acta, supervacuum est referre. scitis enim optime, nec periculum est ne excidant quae memoriae gaudium publicum impresserit: nemo felicitatis suae obliviscitur. in caelo quae acta sint, audite: fides penes auctorem erit. nuntiatur Iovi venisse quendam bonae staturae, bene canum; nescio quid illum minari, assidue enim caput movere; pedem dextrum trahere. quaesisse se, cuius nationis esset: respondisse nescio quid perturbato sono et voce confusa; non intellegere se linguam eius, nec Graecum esse nec Romanum nec ullius gentis notae. tum Iuppiter Herculem, qui totum orbem terrarum pererraverat et nosse videbatur omnes nationes, iubet ire et explorare, quorum hominum esset. tum Hercules primo aspectu sane perturbatus est, ut qui etiam

2 [*illud*]. 15 *ne excidant memoriae quae.*

non omnia monstra timuerit. ut vidit novi generis faciem, insolitum incessum, vocem nullius terrestris animalis sed qualis esse marinis beluis solet, raucam et implicatam, putavit sibi tertium decimum laborem venisse. diligentius intuenti visus est quasi homo. accessit itaque et quod facillimum fuit Graeculo, ait:

τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν, πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες ;

Claudius gaudet esse illic philologos homines, sperat futurum aliquem historiis suis locum. itaque et ipse Homerico versu Caesarem se esse significans ait:

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν.

erat autem sequens versus verior, aeque Homericus:

ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς.

6 et imposuerat Herculi minime vafro, nisi fuisset illic Febris, quae fano suo relicto sola cum illo venerat: ceteros omnes deos Romae reliquerat. 'iste' inquit 'mera mendacia narrat. ego tibi dico, quae cum illo tot annis vixi: Luguduni natus est, Marci municipem vides. quod tibi narro, ad sextum decimum lapidem natus est a Vienna, Gallus Germanus. itaque quod Gallum facere oportebat, Romam cepit. hunc ego tibi recipio Luguduni natum, ubi Licinus multis annis regnavit. tu autem, qui plura loca calcasti quam ullus mulio per-

petuarius, Lugudunenses scire debes et multa milia inter Xanthum et Rhodanum interesse. excandescit hoc loco Claudius et quanto potest murmure irascitur. quid diceret, nemo intellegebat, ille autem Febrim duci iubebat. illo gestu solutae manus et ad hoc unum satis firmae, quo decollare homines solebat, iusserat illi collum praecidi. putares omnes illius esse libertos: adeo illum nemo curabat. tum Hercules 'audi me' inquit 'tu desine 7 fatuari. venisti huc, ubi mures ferrum rodunt. citius mihi verum, ne tibi alogias excutiam.' et quo terribilior esset, tragicus fit et ait:

'exprome propere, sede qua genitus cluas,
hoc ne peremptus stipite ad terram accidas;
haec clava reges saepe mactavit feros.
quid nunc profatu vocis incerto sonas?
quae patria, quae gens mobile eduxit caput?
edissere. equidem regna tergemini petens
longinqua regis, unde ab Hesperio mari
Inachiam ad urbem nobile advexi pecus,
vidi duobus imminens fluviis iugum,
quod Phoebus ortu semper obverso videt,
ubi Rhodanus ingens amne praerapido fluit,
Ararque dubitans, quo suos cursus agat,
tacitus quietis adluit ripas vadis.
estne illa tellus spiritus altrix tui?'

haec satis animose et fortiter; nihilo minus mentis suae non est et timet *μωροῦ πληγήν*. Claudius ut

1 [*Lugdunenses*]. 1 *et* omitted.

vidit virum valentem, oblitus nugarum intellexit neminem Romae sibi parem fuisse, illic non habere se idem gratiae: gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse. itaque quantum intellegi potuit, haec visus est dicere: 'ego te, fortissime deorum Hercule, speravi mihi adfuturum apud alios, et si qui a me notorem petisset, te fui nominaturus, qui me optime nosti. nam si memoria repetis, ego eram qui tibi ante templum tuum ius dicebam totis diebus mense Iulio et Augusto. tu scis, quantum illic miseriarum contulerim, cum causidicos audirem diem et noctem, in quos si incidisses, valde fortis licet tibi videaris, maluisses cloacas Augeae purgare: multo plus ego stercoris exhausi. sed quoniam volo'

8 'non mirum quod in curiam impetum fecisti: nihil tibi clausi est. modo dic nobis, qualem deum istum fieri velis. Ἐπικούρειος θεὸς non potest esse: *οὔτε αὐτὸς πράγμα ἔχει τι οὔτε ἄλλοις παρέχει;* Stoicus? quomodo potest "rotundus" esse, ut ait Varro, "sine capite, sine praeputio"? est aliquid in illo Stoici dei, iam video: nec cor nec caput habet. si mehercules a Saturno petisset hoc beneficium, cuius mensem toto anno celebravit Saturnalicius princeps, non tulisset illud, nedum ab Iove, quem quantum quidem in illo fuit, damnavit incesti. Silanum enim generum suum occidit propterea quod sororem suam, festivissimam om-

9 tibi, *Tiburi.* 11 contulerim, *tulerim.* 19 πράγματ' ἔχει.

nium puellarum, quam omnes Venerem vocarent, maluit Iunonem vocare. "quare," inquis—quaero enim—"sororem suam?" stulte, stude: Athenis dimidium licet, Alexandriae totum. "quia Romae" inquis "mures molas lingunt." hic nobis curva corriget? quid in cubiculo suo faciat, nescit, et iam "caeli scrutatur plagas." deus fieri vult: parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc barbari colunt et ut deum orant *μωροῦ εὐιλάτου τυχεῖν?'* tandem Iovi venit in mentem, privatis intra 9 curiam morantibus sententiam dicere *non licere* nec disputare. 'ego' inquit 'p. c. interrogare vobis permiseram, vos mera mapalia fecistis. volo ut servetis disciplinam curiae. hic qualiscunque est, quid de nobis existimabit?' illo dimisso primus interrogatur sententiam Ianus pater. is designatus erat in kal. Iulias postmeridianus consul, homo quantumvis vafer, qui semper videt *ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω.* is multa diserte, quod in foro vivat, dixit, quae notarius persequi non potuit et ideo non refero, ne aliis verbis ponam, quae ab illo dicta sunt. multa dixit de magnitudine deorum: non debere hunc vulgo dari honorem. 'olim' inquit 'magna res erat deum fieri: iam famam mimum fecisti. itaque ne videar in personam, non in rem dicere sententiam, censeo ne quis post hunc diem

2 *inquit, "quaero enim, sororem suam."*

12 *privatis . . . morantibus senatoribus non licere sententiam dicere nec*, etc.

19 vivat, *vivebat.* 25 fecisti, *fecistis.*

deus fiat ex his qui *ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν* aut ex his quos alit *ζείδωρος ἄρουρα*. qui contra hoc senatus consultum deus factus, dictus pictusve erit, eum dedi Laruis et proximo munere inter novos auctoratos ferulis vapulare placet.' proximus interrogatur sententiam Diespiter Vicae Potae filius, et ipse designatus consul, nummulariolus: hoc quaestu se sustinebat, vendere civitatulas solebat. ad hunc belle accessit Hercules et auriculam illi tetigit. censet itaque in haec verba: 'cum divus Claudius et divum Augustum sanguine contingat nec minus divam Augustam aviam suam, quam ipse deam esse iussit, longeque omnes mortales sapientia antecellat, sitque e re publica esse aliquem qui cum Romulo possit "ferventia rapa vorare," censeo uti divus Claudius ex hac die deus sit, ita uti ante eum quis optimo iure factus sit, eamque rem ad Metamorphosis Ovidi adiciendam.' variae erant sententiae, et videbatur Claudius sententiam vincere. Hercules enim, qui videret ferrum suum in igne esse, modo huc modo illuc cursabat et aiebat: 'noli mihi invidere, mea res agitur; deinde tu si quid volueris, in vicem faciam; manus manum lavat.'

10 tunc divus Augustus surrexit sententiae suae loco dicendae et summa facundia disseruit: 'ego' inquit 'p. c. vos testes habeo, ex quo deus factus sum, nullum me verbum fecisse: semper meum negotium

[1] [aut . . . *ἄρουρα*]. [17] quis, *qui*.
[19] [*sententiam*].

ago. et non possum amplius dissimulare et dolorem, quem graviorem pudor facit, continere. in hoc terra marique pacem peperi? ideo civilia bella compescui? ideo legibis urbem fundavi, operibus ornavi, ut — quid dicam p. c. non invenio: omnia infra indignationem verba sunt. confugiendum est itaque ad Messalae Corvini, disertissimi viri, illam sententiam "pudet imperii." hic p. c., qui vobis non posse videtur muscam excitare, tam facile homines occidebat, quam canis adsidit. sed quid ego de tot ac talibus viris dicam? non vacat deflere publicas clades intuenti domestica mala. itaque illa omittam, haec referam; nam etiam si soror mea [Graece] nescit, ego scio: ἔγγιον γόνυ κνήμης. iste quem videtis, per tot annos sub meo nomine latens, hanc mihi gratiam rettulit, ut duas Iulias proneptes meas occideret, alteram ferro, alteram fame, unum abnepotem L. Silanum. videris Iuppiter an in causa mala, certe in tua, si aecus futurus es. dic mihi, dive Claudi, quare quemquam ex his, quos quasque occidisti, antequam de causa cognosceres, antequam audires, damnasti? hoc ubi fieri solet? in caelo non fit. ecce Iuppiter, qui tot annos regnat, uni Volcano crus fregit, quem

ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο,

et iratus fuit uxori et suspendit illam: numquid occidit? tu Messalinam, cuius aeque avunculus maior eram quam tuus, occidisti. "nescio" inquis.

[1] et, *sed.*

di tibi male faciant: adeo istuc turpius est, quod nescisti, quam quod occidisti. C. Caesarem non desiit mortuum persequi. occiderat ille socerum: hic et generum. Gaius Crassi filium vetuit Magnum vocari: hic nomen illi reddidit, caput tulit. occidit in una domo Crassum, Magnum, Scriboniam, Tristionias, Assarionem, nobiles tamen, Crassum vero tam fatuum, ut etiam regnare posset. hunc nunc deum facere vultis? videte corpus eius dis iratis natum. ad summam, tria verba cito dicat, et servum me ducat. hunc deum quis colet? quis credet? dum tales deos facitis, nemo vos deos esse credet. summa rei, p. c., si honeste *me* inter vos gessi, si nulli clarius respondi, vindicate iniurias meas. ego pro sententia mea hoc censeo:' atque ita ex tabella recitavit: 'quando quidem divus Claudius occidit socerum suum Appium Silanum, generos duos Magnum Pompeium et L. Silanum, socerum filiae suae Crassum Frugi, hominem tam similem sibi quam ovo ovum, Scriboniam socrum filiae suae, uxorem suam Messalinam et ceteros quorum numerus iniri non potuit, placet mihi in eum severe animadverti nec illi rerum iudicandarum vacationem dari eumque quam primum exportari et caelo intra triginta dies excedere, Olympo intra diem tertium.'

pedibus in hanc sententiam itum est. nec mora, Cyllenius illum collo obtorto trahit ad inferos [a caelo]

[28] [*ad inferos*] *a caelo.*

'unde negant redire quemquam.'

dum descendunt per viam Sacram, interrogat Mercurius, quid sibi velit ille concursus hominum, num Claudii funus esset? et erat omnium formosissimum et impensa cura, plane ut scires deum efferri: tubicinum, cornicinum, omnis generis aenatorum tanta turba, tantus concentus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset. omnes laeti, hilares: populus Romanus ambulabat tanquam liber. Agatho et pauci causidici plorabant, sed plane ex animo. iurisconsulti e tenebris procedebant, pallidi, graciles, vix animam habentes, tanquam qui tum maxime reviviscerent. ex his unus cum vidisset capita conferentes et fortunas suas deplorantes causidicos, accedit et ait: 'dicebam vobis: non semper Saturnalia erunt.' Claudius ut vidit funus suum, intellexit se mortuum esse. ingenti enim μεγάλῳ χορικῷ nenia cantabatur anapaestis: 12

'fundite fletus, edite planctus,
resonet tristi clamore forum:
cecidit pulchre cordatus homo,
quo non alius fuit in toto
fortior orbe.
ille citato vincere cursu
poterat celeres, ille rebelles
fundere Parthos levibusque sequi
Persida telis, certaque manu
tendere nervum, qui praecipites

[1] *illuc unde*, etc.

vulnere parvo figeret hostes,
pictaque Medi terga fugacis.
ille Britannos ultra noti
litora ponti
et caeruleos scuta Brigantas
dare Romuleis colla catenis
iussit et ipsum nova Romanae
iura securis tremere Oceanum.
deflete virum, quo non alius
potuit citius discere causas,
una tantum parte audita,
saepe ne utra. quis nunc iudex
toto lites audiet anno?
tibi iam cedet sede relicta,
qui dat populo iura silenti,
Cretaea tenens oppida centum.
caedite maestis pectora palmis,
o causidici, venale genus.
vosque poetae lugete novi,
vosque in primis qui concusso
magna parastis lucra fritillo.'

13 delectabatur laudibus suis Claudius et cupiebat diutius spectare. inicit illi manum Talthybius deorum et trahit capite obvoluto, ne quis eum possit agnoscere, per campum Martium, et inter Tiberim et viam Tectam descendit ad inferos. antecesserat iam compendiaria Narcissus libertus ad patronum excipiendum et venienti nitidus, ut erat

[28] Talthybius deorum [*nuntius*].

a balineo, occurrit et ait: 'quid di ad homines?' 'celerius' inquit Mercurius 'et venire nos nuntia.' dicto citius Narcissus evolat. omnia proclivia sunt, facile descenditur. itaque quamvis podagricus esset, momento temporis pervenit ad ianuam Ditis, ubi iacebat Cerberus vel ut ait Horatius 'belua centiceps.' pusillum perturbatur — subalbam canem in deliciis habere adsueverat — ut illum vidit canem nigrum, villosum, sane non quem velis tibi in tenebris occurrere. et magna voce 'Claudius' inquit 'veniet.' cum plausu procedunt cantantes: *εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρωμεν.* hic erat C. Silius consul designatus, Iuncus praetorius, Sex. Traulus, M. Helvius, Trogus, Cotta, Vettius Valens, Fabius equites R. quos Narcissus duci iusserat. medius erat in hac cantantium turba Mnester pantomimus, quem Claudius decoris causa minorem fecerat. ad Messalinam — cito rumor percrebuit Claudium venisse — convolant: primi omnium liberti Polybius, Myron, Harpocras, Amphaeus, Pheronactus, quos Claudius omnes, necubi imparatus esset, praemiserat. deinde praefecti duo Iustus Catonius et Rufrius Pollio. deinde amici Saturninus Lusius et Pedo Pompeius et Lupus et Celer Asinius consulares. novissime fratris filia, sororis filia, generi, soceri, socrus, omnes plane consanguinei. et agmine facto Claudio occurrunt. quos cum vidisset Claudius, exclamat: *πάντα φίλων πλήρη*, 'quomodo huc venistis vos?' tum

12 *συγχαίρομεν.*

Pedo Pompeius: 'quid dicis, homo crudelissime? quaeris quomodo? quis enim nos alius huc misit quam tu, omnium amicorum interfector? in ius eamus: ego tibi hic sellas ostendam.'

ducit illum ad tribunal Aeaci: is lege Cornelia quae de sicariis lata est, quaerebat. postulat, nomen eius recipiat; edit subscriptionem: occisos senatores XXXV, equites R. CCXXI, ceteros ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε. advocatum non invenit. tandem procedit P. Petronius, vetus convictor eius, homo Claudiana lingua disertus, et postulat advocationem. non datur. accusat Pedo Pompeius magnis clamoribus. incipit patronus velle respondere. Aeacus, homo iustissimus, vetat et illum altera tantum parte audita condemnat et ait: αἴκε πάθοι τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο. ingens silentium factum est. stupebant omnes novitate rei attoniti, negabant hoc unquam factum. Claudio magis iniquum videbatur quam novum. de genere poenae diu disputatum est, quid illum pati oporteret. erant qui dicerent, si nimium diu laturam fecissent, Tantalum siti periturum nisi illi succurreretur; aliquando Ixionis miseri rotam sufflaminandam. non placuit ulli ex veteribus missionem dari, ne vel Claudius unquam simile speraret. placuit novam poenam constitui debere, excogitandum illi laborem irritum et alicuius cupiditatis spem sine

21 si nimium diu laturam fecissent, *Sisyphum satis diu laturam fecisse.*

24 veteribus, *veteranis.* 27 spem, *speciem.*

fine et effectu. tum Aeacus iubet illum alea ludere pertuso fritillo. et iam coeperat fugientes semper tesseras quaerere et nihil proficere:

nam quotiens missurus erat resonante fritillo,
utraque subducto fugiebat tessera fundo.
cumque recollectos auderet mittere talos,
lusuro similis semper semperque petenti,
decepere fidem: refugit digitosque per ipsos
fallax adsiduo dilabitur alea furto.
sic cum iam summi tanguntur culmina montis,
irrita Sisyphio volvuntur pondera collo.

apparuit subito C. Caesar et petere illum in servitutem coepit; producit testes, qui illum viderant ab ipso flagris, ferulis, colaphis vapulantem. adiudicatur C. Caesari; Caesar illum Aeaco donat. is Menandro liberto suo tradidit, ut a cognitionibus esset.

1 sine fine et effectu, *sine effectu.* 7 lusuro, *fusuro.*
12 [*illum*]. 14 ipso, *illo.*

SENECA'S "APOCOLOCYNTOSIS"

1 I wish to record an occurrence which took place in heaven on the third day before the Ides of October, in the new year which began our fortunate era. I am not going to be diverted by either fear or favor. I shall tell the unvarnished truth. If anybody asks me where I got my information, I say at once, I'll not answer if I don't want to. Who is going to make me? I know I have been free to do as I like since the day when he died who had made the proverb true: One must be born either king or fool. If I please to answer, I shall say what comes to my tongue. Who ever demanded affidavits from an historian? Still, if I must produce my authority, apply to the man who saw Drusilla going heavenward; he will say he saw Claudius limping along in the same direction. Willy-nilly, he has to see everything that happens in heaven; for he is the superintendent of the Appian road, by which you know both the divine Augustus and Tiberius Caesar went to join the gods. If you ask this man he will tell you privately; in presence of more than one he'll never speak a word. For since the day when he took oath in the Senate that he had seen Drusilla going

up to heaven and in return for such good news nobody believed him, he has declared in so many words that he'll not testify about anything, not even if he should see a man murdered in the middle of the Forum. What I have heard from him, then, I state positively and plainly, so help him!

Now was come the season when Phoebus had narrowed the daylight, 2
Shortening his journey, while sleep's dim hours were left to grow longer;
Now victorious Cynthia was widening the bounds of her kingdom;
Ugly-faced Winter was snatching away the rich glories of Autumn,
So that the tardy vintager, seeing that Bacchus was aging,
Hastily, here and there, was plucking the clusters forgotten.

I presume I shall be better understood if I say that the month was October and the day October thirteenth; the exact hour I cannot tell you — it's easier to get philosophers to agree than timepieces — but it was between noon and one o'clock.

"Too clumsily put!" you will say. "All the poets are unsatisfied to describe sunrises and sunsets, so that they are even tackling the middle of the day: are you going to neglect so good an hour?"

Phoebus already had passed the highest point of his circuit,
Wearily shaking the reins as his car drew nearer the evening,
Leading away the half-spent light on its down-dipping pathway.

3 Claudius began to give up the ghost, but couldn't find a way out for it. Then Mercury, who had always had a fancy for his character, led aside one of the three Fates and said: "Why, O hard-hearted woman, do you let the wretched man be tormented? Isn't he ever to have a rest, after being tortured so long? It is the sixty-fourth year that he has been afflicted with life. What grudge have you got against him and the nation? For once let the prophets tell the truth, who have been taking him off every year, every month even, since he was made emperor. And still it's no wonder if they go wrong and nobody knows his hour; for nobody ever made any account of his being born. Do what is necessary:

'Give him over to death: let a better man reign in his palace.'"

But Clotho remarked, "I swear I intended to give him a trifle more time, till he should make citizens out of the few that are left outside — for he had made up his mind to see everybody, Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards, Britons, wearing togas. However, since it is perhaps a good thing to have a few foreigners

left as a nucleus, and since you wish it, it shall be attended to." Then she opened a bandbox and brought out three spindles; one was that of Augurinus, the next was Baba's, the third Claudius'. "I will have these three die at short intervals within a year," she said, "and not send him off unattended. For it isn't right that one who has been in the habit of seeing so many thousands of people following him about, going ahead of him, and all around him, should all of a sudden be left alone. For a while he will be satisfied with these boon-companions."

Thus having spoken she wound up the thread on 4
his spindle neglected,
Breaking off the royal days of his stupid existence.
Lachesis, waiting meanwhile, with tresses charmingly ordered,
Crowning the locks on her brow with a wreath of Pierian laurel,
Drew from a snowy fleece white strands which, cleverly fashioned,
Under her artful fingers began with new colors to glisten: —
Spun to a thread that drew the admiring gaze of her sisters.
Changed was the common wool, until as a metal most precious,
Golden the age that was winding down in that beautiful fillet.

Ceaselessly they too labored; and bringing the finest of fleeces,
Gayly they filled her hands, for sweet was the duty allotted.
She, in her eagerness, hastened the work, nor was conscious of effort;
Lightly the soft strands fell from the whirling point of her spindle,
Passing the life of Tithonus, passing the lifetime of Nestor.
Phoebus came with his singing, and, happy in anticipation,
Joyously plied the plectrum, or aided the work of the spinners:
Kept their hearts intent, with his song beguiling their labor.
While beyond thought they rejoiced in their brother's music, their hands spun,
Busily twining a destiny passing all human allotment,
Wrought through the spell of Phoebus' lyre and his praise, as he bade them:
"Stay not your hands, O Fateful Sisters, but make him a victor
Over the barriers that limit the common lifetime of mortals;
Let him be blessed with a grace and a beauty like mine, and in music
Grant him no meaner gifts. An age of joy shall he bring men

Weary for laws that await his restoring. Like Lucifer comes he,
Putting the scattered stars to flight, or like Hesper at nightfall,
Rising when stars return; or e'en as the Sun, — when Aurora
First has dispelled the dark and blushingly led forth the morning, —
Brightly gleams on the world and renews his chariot's journey,
So cometh Caesar; so in his glory shall Rome behold Nero.
Thus do his radiant features gleam with a gentle effulgence,
Graced by the flowing locks that fall encircling his shoulders."

Thus Apollo. But Lachesis, who herself, too, had a fondness for the handsomest of men, wrought with generous hand, and bestowed upon Nero many years from her own store. As for Claudius, however, everybody gave orders

With joy and great content to send him out of doors.[1]

And indeed he did go up the flume, and from that moment ceased to appear to be alive. He expired, moreover, while listening to comic actors; so you understand it isn't without reason that I am

[1] Greek quotations in the original are in the translation indicated by italics.

afraid of those fellows. His last words that were heard among men were these, after a louder utterance in the locality where he expressed himself the more easily: "Oh, dear! I think I have hurt myself." Whether he had, I don't know; at any rate he was in the habit of hurting everything.

5 What happened afterward on earth it is superfluous to describe. For you know very well, and there is no danger that things which the universal joy has impressed upon the memory will slip from it; no one forgets his own good fortune. Listen to what happened in heaven: it is on the authority of the narrator. The news was brought to Jupiter that somebody had come, a rather tall man, quite gray-headed; that he was threatening something or other, for he kept shaking his head; and that he limped with his right foot. The messenger said he had asked of what nation he was, but his answer was mumbled in some kind of an incoherent noise; he didn't recognize the man's language, but he wasn't either Greek or Roman or of any known race. Then Jupiter told Hercules, who had travelled all over the world and was supposed to be acquainted with all the nations, to go and find out what sort of a man it was. Hercules at the first sight was a good deal disturbed, even though he was one who didn't fear any sort of monsters. When he beheld the aspect of this unknown specimen, its extraordinary gait, its voice belonging to no earthly creature but more like that of the monsters of the

deep, hoarse and inarticulate, he thought that a thirteenth labor had come to him. When he looked more carefully, however, it appeared to be a man. He approached him and thus spoke, as was easiest for a Greek chap:

Who and whence art thou, and where are thy city and parents?

Claudius was delighted to find literary people there, hoping there would be some place for his histories. So he, too, in a Homeric verse, indicating himself to be Caesar, said:

Hence from Ilium the winds have among the Cicones cast me.

But the following verse would have been truer, and equally Homeric:

There their city I wasted; the people I slaughtered.

And he would have imposed upon the guileless 6
Hercules, had not Fever been there, who alone had left her shrine and come with him. All the other divinities he had left behind at Rome. She said, "It is simple nonsense that he is giving you. I tell you — I who have lived with him for so many years — he was born at Lugudunum; you behold one of Marcus' citizens. As I'm telling you, he was born sixteen miles from Vienna, a genuine Gaul. And so as a Gaul ought to do, he captured Rome. Take my word for it, he was born at Lugu-

dunum, where Licinus reigned for many years. But you, who have tramped more lands than any wandering muleteer, ought to know men from Lugudunum and that there are a good many miles between the Xanthus and the Rhone." At this point Claudius fired up and angrily grumbled as loudly as he could. What he was saying, nobody understood, except that he commanded Fever to be led away to punishment. With the familiar gesture of his limp hand, that was steady enough for the one purpose of decapitating people as he was accustomed, he had ordered her head to be struck off. You would suppose all those present were his freedmen, so little attention did any one
7 pay him. Then Hercules said, "Listen to me and stop talking nonsense. You have come to a place where the mice gnaw iron. Tell me the truth, quick, or I'll knock the silliness out of you." And in order to be more terrifying, he struck the attitude of a tragedian and said:

"Declare at once the place you call your natal
town,
Or else, by this tough cudgel smitten, down you go!
This club has slaughtered many a mighty potentate.
What's that, that in a muffled voice you're trying
to say?
Where is the land or race to own your shaky head?
Speak out. Oh, I remember when afar I sought
The triple-bodied king's domains, whose famous herd

From the western sea I drove to the city of
Inachus,
I saw a hill above two rivers, towering high
In face of Phoebus rising each day opposite,
Where the broad Rhone pours by in swiftly moving
flood,
And Arar, pausing ere it lets its waters go,
Silently laves the borders of its quiet pools.
Is that the land that nursed you when you first drew
breath?"

These things he said with spirit, and boldly enough. All the same, he was inwardly a good deal afraid of the *madman's blow*. Claudius, seeing the mighty hero, forgot his nonsense and perceived that while no one had been a match for him at Rome, here he didn't have the same advantage; a cock is master only on his own dunghill. So, as well as could be made out, this is what he appeared to say: "I did hope that you, Hercules, bravest of the gods, would stand by me before the others, and if any one had asked me who could vouch for me, I should have named you, who know me best. For if you recall, I was the one who held court before your temple all day long during the months of July and August. You know how many troubles I had there, listening to the lawyers day and night; and if you had fallen among those fellows, though you may think that you are pretty courageous, you would have preferred to clean Augeas' stables.

I have cleaned out much more filth. But since I want"[1]—

8 "It's no wonder you have made an assault upon the senate-house; nothing is closed to you. Only tell us what sort of a god you want him to be made. He cannot be an *Epicurean god, neither having himself any care nor causing any to others.* A Stoic? How can he be 'round,' as Varro says, 'without head or prepuce'? Yet there is something in him of the Stoic god, now I see. He has neither heart nor head. By Hercules, though, if he had asked this favor of Saturn, whose festival month the Saturnalian prince kept going the whole year long, he wouldn't have got it; and surely he wouldn't of Jove, whom so far as he possibly could he convicted of incest. For he put to death Silanus his son-in-law, just because the man preferred that his sister, prettiest of all the girls, so that everybody called her Venus, should be called his Juno. 'Why his sister?' you say, — in fact, I ask it. Think, you blockhead. At Athens that sort of thing is halfway allowed; at Alexandria altogether. 'But since at Rome,' you say, 'the mice live on dainties.' He's going to straighten our crooked ways! He doesn't know what goes on in his own chamber, and now 'he searches the regions of heaven.' He wants to become a god.

[1] On the break at this point, see the notes, and introduction, p. 53.

Isn't he satisfied that he has a temple in Britain; that the barbarians worship him and beseech him as a god that they may *find him a merciful madman?*"

At length it occurred to Jove that while ordinary 9
persons are staying in the senate-house it is not permitted to express an opinion nor to argue. "I had allowed you to ask questions, Conscript Fathers," he said, "but you have brought out simply rubbish. I want you to observe the rules of the Senate. What will this person, whoever he is, think of us?"

When the said individual had been sent out, Father Janus was the first to be asked his opinion. He had been elected afternoon consul for the first of July, being a very shrewd man, who always sees *at once both forward and backward.* He spoke at some length, and fluently, because he lives in the Forum; but the stenographer could not follow, and therefore I do not report him, for fear of misquoting what he said. He said a good deal about the importance of the gods, and that this honor ought not to be given commonly. "Once," said he, "it was a great thing to be made a god, but now you have made the distinction a farce. And so lest my remarks seem to be dealing with personalities rather than with the case, I move that from this day forward no one shall be made a god, from among all those who *eat the fruit of the corn-land,* or those whom the *fruitful corn-land* feeds. Who-

ever contrary to this decree of the Senate shall be made, called, or depicted as god, is to be given to the hobgoblins, and to get a thrashing among the newly hired gladiators at the next show."

The next to be asked his opinion was Diespiter the son of Vica Pota, who was himself also a consul elect, and a money-changer; by this business he supported himself, and he was accustomed to sell citizenships in a small way. Hercules approached him politely and gave him an admonitory touch on the ear. Accordingly he expressed his opinion in these words: "Whereas the divine Claudius is by blood related to the divine Augustus and no less also to the divine Augusta, his grandmother, who was made a goddess by his own orders, and whereas he far surpasses all mortals in wisdom, and it is for the public interest that there be some one who can join Romulus in 'eating of boiling-hot turnips,' I move that from this day the divine Claudius be a god, with title equally as good as that of any one who has been made so before him, and that this event be added to the Metamorphoses of Ovid."

The opinions were various, and Claudius seemed to be winning the vote. For Hercules, who saw that his iron was in the fire, kept running to this one and that one, saying, "Don't go back on me; this is my personal affair. And then if you want anything, I'll do it in my turn. One hand washes the other."

Then the divine Augustus arose at the point for 10
expressing his opinion, and discoursed with the utmost eloquence. "I call you to witness, Conscript Fathers," said he, "that since I was made a god, I have never addressed you; I always mind my own business. And I can no longer disguise my feelings nor conceal the distress that shame makes all the greater. Was it for this that I secured peace on land and sea? For this did I make an end of civil wars? For this did I found the city on a basis of law, adorn it with monuments, that — what to say, Conscript Fathers, I cannot discover. All words are beneath my indignation. So in desperation I must take to the phrase of that most clever man, Messala Corvinus, 'I am ashamed of my authority.' This fellow, Conscript Fathers, who doesn't seem to you as if he could disturb a fly, used to kill people as easily as a dog stops to rest. But why should I enumerate the many great men? I have no heart to lament public calamities when I behold those of my own family. And so I will pass over the former and describe these. For I know, even if my sister doesn't know [as they say in Greek], *my knee is nearer than my shin.* That fellow whom you see there, hiding under my name for so many years, has shown his gratitude to me by slaying the two Julias, my great-granddaughters, one by the sword, the other by starvation, and L. Silanus, one of my great-great-grandsons. We shall see, Jupiter,

whether in a bad case, and one which is certainly your own, you are going to be just. Tell me, divine Claudius, why you condemned any one of the men and women whom you put to death before you understood their cases, or even listened to them. Where is this kind of thing customary?
11 It's not the way in heaven. Here is Jupiter, now, who has been ruling for so many years. One person's leg he has broken, Vulcan's, whom

Snatching him by the foot, he hurled from the heavenly threshold;

and he got angry at his wife and hung her up, but he didn't kill her, did he? But you have put to death Messalina, to whom I was as much a great-uncle as I was to you. 'I don't know,' you say? May the gods be hard on you! It is more shameful that you didn't know it than that you killed her. He has never ceased to follow up the dead-and-gone C. Caesar. The latter had killed his father-in-law; Claudius here, his son-in-law besides. Gaius forbade the son of Crassus to be called Magnus; this man returned him the name, but took off his head. He killed in one household Crassus, Magnus, Scribonia, the Tristionias, and Assario; and they were aristocrats too, and Crassus besides so stupid that he was even qualified to reign. Now do you want to make this man a god? Look at his body, born when the gods were angry. And finally, if he can say three consecutive words to-

gether, he can have me as his slave. Who will worship this god? Who will believe in him? As long as you make such gods as he, nobody will believe you are gods yourselves. In short, Conscript Fathers, if I have behaved myself honorably among you, if I have not answered anybody in an ungentlemanly manner, avenge my injuries. This is the resolution which I have to offer;" and he read as follows from his tablet: "Since the divine Claudius has killed his father-in-law Appius Silanus, his two sons-in-law Magnus Pompeius and L. Silanus, his daughter's father-in-law Crassus Frugi, a man as like himself as one egg is to another, Scribonia his daughter's mother-in-law, his wife Messalina, and others too numerous to mention, I propose that strict punishment be meted out to him, that he be granted no rest from adjudicating cases, and that he be got out of the way as soon as possible, departing from heaven within thirty days and from Olympus within three."

There was a division of the house, and this resolution was carried. Without delay the Cyllenian dragged him by the nape of his neck off from heaven toward the lower regions,

"Whence they say no man returns."

While they were going down the Via Sacra, 12
Mercury inquired what such a crowd of people could mean: whether it was Claudius' funeral. And indeed it was a most elegant and elaborate

display, so that you would easily recognize that a god was being carried off to burial. There was so great a crowd of trumpeters, hornblowers, and players upon every kind of brass instruments, so great a concord, that even Claudius could hear it. Everybody was joyful and in high spirits. The Roman people walked about like free men. Only Agatho and a few pettifoggers were weeping, but their grief was plainly heartfelt. The real lawyers were coming out of their hiding-places, pale and thin, scarcely drawing breath, like people who were just coming to life again. One of them, when he had seen the pettifoggers getting their heads together and lamenting their calamity, came up and said, "I told you the Saturnalia wouldn't last forever." Claudius, when he saw his own funeral, understood that he was dead. For in a mighty *great chorus* they were chanting a dirge in anapests:

"Pour forth your tears, lift up woful voices;
Let the Forum echo with sorrowful cries.
Nobly has fallen a man most sagacious,
Than whom no other ever was braver,
Not in the whole world.
He in the quick-sped race could be victor
Over the swiftest; he could rebellious
Parthians scatter, chase with his flying
Missiles the Persian, steadiest-handed,
Bend back the bow which, driving the foeman
Headlong in flight, should pierce him afar, while

Gay-coated Medes turned their backs to disaster.
Conqueror he of Britons beyond the
Shores of the known sea:
Even the dark-blue-shielded Brigantes
Forced he to bend their necks to the fetters
That Romulus forged, and Ocean himself
To tremble before the Roman dominion.
Mourn for the man than whom no one more quickly
Was able to see the right in a lawsuit,
Only at hearing one side of the quarrel, —
Often not either. Where is the judge now
Willing to listen to cases the year through?
Thou shalt be given the office resigned thee
By him who presides in the court of the shades,
The lord of a hundred cities Cretaean.
Smite on your breasts, ye shysters forsaken,
With hands of despair, O bribe-taking crew;
Ye too, half-fledged poets, now should bewail;
And ye above all, who lately were able
To gather great gains by shaking the dice-box."

Claudius was delighted with his praises, and de- 13
sired to stay longer to look on. But the Talthybius of the gods laid a hand on him and pulled him away, with his head covered so that nobody could recognize him, across the Campus Martius, and between the Tiber and the Arcade went down to the lower world. The freedman Narcissus had already gone ahead by a short cut to be ready to receive his patron, and as the latter was approach-

ing he ran up, all sleek from the bath, and said: "What's this? Gods, among men?" "Hurry up," said Mercury, "and announce that we are coming." In less time than it takes to tell it, Narcissus skipped out. All the way being down hill, the descent was easy. And so, in spite of his gout, he came in a twinkling to Pluto's door, where lay Cerberus, or as Horace says, "the beast with the hundred heads." Narcissus was a trifle scared — he had been accustomed to have a white dog as a pet — when he saw that huge, hairy black dog, which, on my word, is one that you wouldn't like to meet in the dark. And with a loud voice he said, "Claudius is coming." Then a crowd began to come forward with clapping of hands and chanting: "*We have got him; let us rejoice!*" Among them were C. Silius the consul-elect, Iuncus the ex-praetor, Sextus Traulus, M. Helvius, Trogus, Cotta, Vettius Valens, and Fabius, Roman knights whom Narcissus had ordered to execution. In the middle of this company of singers was Mnester the dancer, whom Claudius had made shorter for the sake of appearances. To Messalina — the report that Claudius had come quickly spread — they gathered; first of all, the freedmen Polybius, Myron, Harpocras, Amphaeus, and Pheronactus, all of whom Claudius had sent ahead in order that he might not be anywhere unprepared; then the two prefects Justus Catonius and Rufrius Pollio; then the Emperor's friends Saturninus Lusius and Pedo Pompeius and

Lupus and Celer Asinius, of consular rank; finally his brother's daughter, his sister's daughter, his sons-in-law, his fathers-in-law, his mothers-in-law, in fact all his relatives; and forming in line they came to meet Claudius. When he had seen them, he exclaimed: "*Plenty of friends, everywhere!* How did you come here?" Then said Pedo Pompeius: "What are you talking about, you cruel villain? 'How?' did you ask? Well, who else but you has sent us here, you murderer of all your friends? Come to the court of justice. I'll show you where our tribunal is."

He led him to the bar of Aeacus, who conducted 14
the trial under the Cornelian law against assassins. He asked that the court would enter the name, and recorded the accusation: Senators killed, thirty-five; Roman knights, two hundred and twenty-one; other persons, *as many as the sands on the seashore.* No one was found as counsel for the accused until at length P. Petronius came forward, an old boon companion of his, a man skilled in the Claudian tongue, and asked for a postponement. It was not granted. Pedo Pompeius spoke for the prosecution with loud shouts. The attorney for the defence wanted to begin his reply. Aeacus, most equitable of persons, forbade him and condemned Claudius after hearing only one side, saying: "*Right will be done him if he be treated as he treated others.*" Then there was a tremendous silence. Everybody was struck dumb by the nov-

elty of the procedure. They said the thing never happened before. To Claudius it seemed more unjust than new. Over the nature of the penalty there was a long discussion, as to what would be an appropriate sentence for him. Various ones said that if they made Tantalus' suffering too long he would perish of thirst unless somebody came to his rescue; and that poor Ixion's wheel ought at last to be stopped. But it was decided that no release should be given to any of the old ones, lest Claudius should sometime hope for the same in his turn. It was decided that a new punishment ought to be arranged, that for him must be devised some vain task and the hope of gratifying some desire, without end or consummation. Then Aeacus commanded him to gamble with a bottomless dice-box. And already he had begun to search for his constantly escaping dice and to accomplish nothing; for

Every time when he wanted to throw from his clattering dice-box,
Both of the dice escaped him by way of the hole in the bottom.
Then when he gathered them up and once more ventured to play them,
Over again they gave him the slip, and kept him pursuing,
Constantly baffling his hopes by skipping away through his fingers,

Always trickily sliding through with the same old
deception, —
Tiresome as when poor Sisyphus reaches the top
of his mountain
Vainly to feel his burden go rolling back from his
shoulders.

Suddenly C. Caesar appeared and began to claim him as his slave. He produced witnesses who had seen Claudius getting thrashed by him with whips, with rods, and with his fists. The man was adjudged to C. Caesar; Caesar presented him to Aeacus; the latter delivered him to Menander his freedman, to be his law-clerk.

NOTES

1. ante diem III. idus Octobris: This is the date of Claudius's death given by Suet. *Cl.* 45, Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69, and Dio Cas. lx. 34 (*τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου*). It is also the date of the sequel which took place in heaven, for apparently the statement of Tacitus, *caelestesque honores Claudio decernuntur*, etc., belongs to the same day.

The year (54 A.D.) is indicated in the earlier texts by the consulate, *Asinio Marcello Acilio Aviola coss.*, probably interpolated from Suet. 45, where the names occur in the same form. Cf. Tac. xii. 64. They are absent from the St. G., Val., and other principal MSS. Besides, as Bücheler remarks, the determination of the year is here unnecessary, for there is sufficient reason to suppose that the *Ludus* was produced very shortly after Claudius's death.

anno novo: not in the ordinary sense in which the expression was used by the Romans, as by us. Here it means the beginning of Nero's reign, and is explained by the words that follow.

initio: Wachsmuth would eject this word as a gloss to the preceding, The elaboration, however, is quite as likely to be the author's own.

saeculi felicissimi: Rousseau takes *saeculi* in the precise sense of the century which began with the secular games that Claudius celebrated, according to a chronology of his own devising, at the cost of some ridicule. But it is more to the point, here, if taken to signify the happy era inaugurated by the coming of Nero to power. The allusion, during his *Quinquennium*, would be immediately intelligible. Compare

Apollo's song in chapter 4. The expression *felicitati saeculi instantis* occurs in a similar sense in a *senatusconsultum* of about A.D. 45 (*C.I.L.* X. 1401).

nihil nec offensae nec gratiae dabitur: Similarly, Tacitus in beginning his *Histories* says: *Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti.* The mock-seriousness of the present resolve is well in character. Seneca may have had the grievance of his exile in mind. The second part, at least, of his promise is kept with philosophic loyalty.

me liberum factum: *i.e.* to speak his mind. But the phrase seems to have been a common one. Cf. c. 12: *populus Romanus ambulabat tanquam liber;* recall Claudius's remark in refusing a request of the Ostians (Suet. *Cl.* 40), *si quem alium, et se liberum esse.* Otto cites also Petron. 117: *nec minus liber sum quam vos.*

ex quo: This is perhaps to be noted as a mannerism. Cf. *ex quo in senatu iuravit*, below; *ex quo cum anima luctatur* (c. 3); *ex quo deus factus sum* (c. 10). Similarly, in c. 4, *ex eo desiit*, etc. For the same phrase elsewhere, cf. *e.g.* Petron. 64: *ex quo podagricus factus sum;* also Verg. *Aen.* ii. 163 and 648. Compare the Greek, ἀφ' οὗ, Aristoph. *Plut.* 1173.

suum diem obiit: as we say, "his time had come." Cf. Petron. 61: *supremum diem obiit;* so commonly also *obiit*, alone.

verum: predicate to *proverbium*. Mommsen and Birt in suggesting *bis verum* and Wachsmuth with *bifariam verum*, seem to mistake the sense of the proverb. So perhaps do Bücheler and Otto in their explanation that Seneca has distorted it from its original sense. Claudius was not *born* a monarch, but being *fatuus* he had of course the luck to become one.

aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere: apparently a popular saw. The two terms are similarly coupled in the Greek proverb, μωρῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ νόμος ἄγραφος. (Porphyrio to Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 188). Compare Caligula's epigram, *aut frugi*

hominem esse oportet, aut Caesarem (Suet. *Cal.* 37). In c. 11, *Crassum vero tam fatuum ut etiam regnare posset* is evidently a reminiscence of the present proverb. Erasmus includes this in his *Adagia* (No. 1201) with an extended discussion of royal fools and the points which royalty and folly have in common. Cf. Juv. vi. 223: *Sit pro ratione voluntas.* On Claudius' claims to the title of *fatuus*, see esp. Suet. *Cl.* 3, 4, 15, 38, and 39. Cf. id. *Nero*, 33, Nero's pun on the word *morari*, in allusion to his stepfather.

in buccam: The very colloquial flavor of the word in this sense suits the air of jocular candor with which the writer begins his narration. Cf. Mart. xii. 24:

> *Hic mecum licet, hic, Iuvate, quicquid*
> *In buccam tibi venerit, loquaris.*

Sen. *Ep.* 118, 1: *Nec faciam, quod Cicero, vir disertissimus, facere Atticum iubet, ut etiam si rem nullam habebit, quod in buccam venerit, scribat;* Cic. *ad Attic.* xii. 1: *Garrimus quicquid in buccam?* Compare also id. vii. 10, and instances in Petronius and Persius.

quis unquam ab historico, etc.: The joke is sufficiently broad, but might be cited as a hint of the good time coming for the historical critics.

iuratores: assistants of the censors who received the sworn returns of the citizens. Cf. Plaut. Trinum. 872, *Census quom sum, iuratori recte rationem dedi;* also Liv. xxxix. 44.

Here it is to be understood that the historian does not have to account for what he has in his possession. For a similar use, cf. Symmachus, *Orat. pro Synes.* 1.

quaerito: Bücheler's reading, better in view of *si quis*, above, and of *scis* and *interrogaveris*, than the *quaerite* of earlier editions. But cf. *scitis* and *audite* in chapter 5.

Drusilla: Julia Drusilla, second daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina (the Elder); sister and mistress of Caligula; see Suet. *Cal.* 24. On his extravagant mourning for her at her death, A.D. 38, cf. ibid. and Dio, lix. 10–11. Seneca

reprehends this in his *Consol ad Polyb.* 17. Dio tells of her *consecratio* and says that a shrine and college of twenty priests and priestesses were established in her honor. Medals, both Greek and Latin, are extant representing her apotheosis, and there are various honorary inscriptions to her as a divinity, *e.g. C.I.L.* XI. 3598, on a pedestal now in the Lateran, DIVAE DRUSILLAE SORORI c. caesaris AUGUSTI GERMANICI.

According to Dio, it was Livius Geminius who testified to his fellow-senators that he had seen Drusilla going up to join the gods. He got 250,000 denarii for it. Compare, for a similar witness when Augustus went to heaven, Suet. *Aug.* 100, and Dio, lvi. 46.

non passibus aequis: from Verg. ii. 724, with comic comparison to the "little Iulus," who could not keep up with his father. On Claudius's unsteady gait, cf. c. 5, and also Suet. 30, and elsewhere.

velit, nolit: a familiar colloquialism for the fuller form, *sive velit, sive nolit*, like our "willy nilly." Cf. Petron. 71, *horologium in medio, ut quisquis horas inspiciet, velit nolit, nomen meum legat*; Sen. *de Vit. Beat.* iv. 4, *necesse est, velit nolit, sequatur hilaritas*, etc.; id. *de Brev. Vit.* viii. 5: *mors . . . cui, velis, nolis, vacandum est*; id. *Ep.* 117, 4, *velint nolint, respondendum est.* Otto compares the Greek οὐχ ἑκὼν ἑκών. Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.* 512.

Appiae viae curator: an office generally held by men of consular or praetorian rank. On the *curatores viarum* and their functions, see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, II. 668 *seq.* and 1077 *seq.* (3d ed.); compare also inscriptions showing the *cursus honorum* of the senatorial order.

qua scis et Divum Augustum et Tiberium Caesarem ad deos isse: Both emperors died in Campania, and their bodies were taken to Rome for the funeral rites by this road, that of Augustus from Nola (Suet. *Aug.* 100), that of Tiberius from Misenum (id. *Tib.* 75). Only for Augustus was it precisely a route *ad deos*, for Tiberius had not been legally deified. But the writer's courtesy is all-embracing.

soli narrabit, etc.: The senator's sensitiveness is significant of other recompense than the 250,000 denarii.

ex quo in senatu iuravit: Dio (lix. 11) describes his oath; *ὤμοσεν, ἐξώλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν εἰ ψεύδοιτο, ἐπαράσαμενος κτἑ.*

quod viderit: These words, regarded as a gloss on the preceding by Heumann and Bücheler, were, according to Neubur, rejected as early as 1604 by Gruter. But the imitative passage in the *Vita Walae* (in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctorum ord. S. Benedicti*; cf. Hermes, vi. 126), *eique pro tam bono nuntio nemo credidit, quicquid viderit verbis conceptis affirmavit se nulli dicturum*, etc., which is of probably the first half of the ninth century, gives a reason for supposing the words genuine. Related to the following clauses, the tense of *viderit* must be explained by a shift in the writer's point of view before he reached *vidisset*, and *quod* as standing for an indefinite relative.

verbis conceptis: like our "in so many words." Cf. Serv. *ad. Aen.* xii. 13. *Concepta autem verba dicuntur iurandi formula quam nobis transgredi non licet.* Cf. also Plaut. *Cist.* 98: *At ille conceptis iuravit verbis*; id. *Bacchid.* 1028: *Ego ius iurandum verbis conceptis dedi*; and elsewhere. Similarly, Petron. 113: *iurat Eumolpus verbis conceptissimis*; id. 133: *conceptissimisque iuravit verbis.*

certa clara affero: cf. Ter. *Hecyra*, 841: *Vide . . . ut mi haec certa et clara attuleris*; with a change of form, Liv. i. 18: *uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis*; Cic. *ad Attic.* xvi. 13: *Tu mihi de iis rebus quae novantur omnia certa, clara.*

ita illum salvum et felicem habeam: like our "so help me," etc., inverted. The more natural Latin formula likewise would be something nearer *ita me salvum* or *ita illum propitium habeam*. Such asseverations are common enough in colloquial usage. Cf. *e.g.* Petron. 61, *Sic me felicem videas*; ibid. 69, *Sic me salvum habeatis*; and ibid. 44, *ita meos fruniscar*. Apparently the narrator recalls with sympathetic

irony the solemnity of Livius Geminius's imprecation, quoted above from Dio.

2. iam Phoebus, etc.: These lines are by way of indicating the autumn season, as the following ones the time of day. The poetical redundance is an evident affectation. In Seneca's *Ep.* 122, there is some more playful jesting over the sun's movements in a different vein, with quotations from the poets. With this description, cf. Propertius iv. 20, 4 (ed. Teub.):

Phoebe, moraturae contrahe lucis iter.

In a Petronian fragment given in Baehren's *Poetae Lat. Min.* IV, No. 75 (Büch. Petron. ed. 1862, Frag. 38), occurs a description of autumn with some similarities.

ortum: This is the MS. reading. Bücheler, in his *editio minor*, gives *orbem*, a suggestion of Fromond, approved by Haupt Bücheler earlier (ed. 1864), like Ruhkopf and Schusler, gave *ortum*. And the emendation seems unnecessary; *contraxerat ortum lucis*, though unusual, is by no means impossible, and is more specially expressive of the change of season than the other reading. Phœbus, by shortening his journey, had narrowed the space or time within which he rose above the horizon.

tempora somni: the best MS. reading and that of the *editio princeps*. Ruhkopf and other editors, following the Codex Weissenburgensis of Rhenanus, give *cornua somni*, the added picturesqueness of which involves an unnecessary complication of figure.

victrix . . . Cynthia: Diana, of Mt. Cynthus. Note that the line repeats the sense of the preceding one. Bücheler compares Ausonius's *Epist.* xxiii (ed. Teub.) to his son, ll. 3–4:

Luna—
Vinceret ut tenebras radiis velut aemula fratris.

gratos . . . honores . . . autumni: cf. Hor. *Epod.* xi. 6: *December . . . silvis honorem decutit.* Also Mart. *Epig.* vi. 80, 5: *Tantus veris honos.*

carpebat: Here, as in l. 6, the word is better than other words which have been suggested to avoid the repetition; *e.g.* Bücheler's *spargebat* or *rapiebat*, though Haupt's *turpabat* would be more satisfactory. But the repetition of the word is probably a mere betrayal of haste on the part of the writer.

visoque senescere Baccho: The St. G. and Val. MSS. show *iussoque*, etc. [*t.* Fickert], which is the reading adopted by Bücheler and other recent critics, instead of the traditional *viso* of the *editio princeps* and most of the rest. But a change in the manuscript from one of these words to the other would have been slight and easy, and I venture to choose *viso*, which makes the more obvious and natural sense, in spite of the ingenious idea evolved from *iusso senescere Baccho*. This, Bücheler (following Schusler) says, means wine left for greater maturity on the vines. The explanation gives an unusual shade of meaning to the word *senescere*, and seems somewhat forced. '*Viso*,' he adds, *passt offenbar nicht zu* '*raras*, *serus*.' He does not explain why, and it is hardly apparent.

serus vindemitor: though it was only the middle of October. Pliny's definition of the *iustum vindemiae tempus* is quoted by some of the editors, *ab aequinoctio ad vergiliarum occasum*, from the 24th of September to the beginning of November. *Vindemitor*, for the more usual *vindemiator*.

puto magis intellegi, etc.: For other remarks in the same tone, see Introd. pp. 83, 84; especially Ausonius, in the epistle already quoted: *Nescis, puto, quid velim tot versibus dicere*, etc. (p. 266, ed. Teub.). On the tense of *intellegi*, see Introd. p. 71.

si dixero, mensis erat October: Note the colloquial parataxis, so frequent in Petronius and Plautus. See p. 71.

dies III. idus Octobris: October 13, as confirmed by Dio, lx. 34. Friedländer, curiously, gives the date as October 12.

inter philosophos: The slur recalls our "when doctors disagree," etc. Jokes at the expense of philosophers have of course always been in order. Here there is special flavor in

one by Seneca against his own kind. Compare Lucian's frequent satire on their pedantic disagreements.

quam inter horologia conveniet: Water-clocks were notoriously inaccurate.

inter sextam et septimam: between twelve and one o'clock. Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 8: *ut de Claudio palam factum est, inter horam sextam septimamque*, etc. So also Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69: *medio diei.* Claudius's death occurred in the morning, but Agrippina did not allow it to be announced till midday. Seneca naturally gives the official hour.

'nimis rustice!' inquies: 'sunt omnes poetae,' etc.: The manuscript reading here is *nimis rustice adquiescunt omnes*, etc. The passage has been much disputed. Bücheler's text reads: '*nimis rustice*' *inquies*: '*cum omnes poetae*,' etc., and the following *ut* is bracketed. Schoppe, according to Ruhkopf and Bücheler, had already proposed practically the same reading. Gronovius had: *Nimis rustice, inquies tu nunc. Horni poetae non contenti . . . inquietant: tu sic*, etc., the *ut* being omitted. The need for cutting this out is an objection to the change in the first part of the sentence. A fair case could be made out for the manuscript reading, which is kept by Fickert, Schenkl, and Birt; the last explains *adquiescunt* in the sense of making a pause in the narration (*quod rhetores in tractatione nominant τὴν ἀνάπαυλαν τῶν πραγμάτων*) for the sake of dwelling upon the beauties of nature. A reading adopted by Ruhkopf and several of the other editors is *acquiescunt oneri poetae.* Neubur changed to *honori* in the same place. Haupt proposed: *Nimis rustice. adsuescunt omnes poetae . . . ut etiam medium diem inquietent.* Haase gives: *Nimis rustice adquiescis. nunc* [*adeo*] *omnes poetae*, etc., *adeo* being inserted before *non contenti* to precede the result clause with *ut*. All these latter readings require the assumption that the writer is simply talking to himself, but for this the text offers no preparation. He is talking to his reader, or his auditor, in *scis* and *interrogaveris*, just before. It seems to me that the *inquies* of Bücheler's reading should be

kept, but from the latter part of the manuscript *adquiescunt* I have ventured *sunt* instead of *cum*, as a slighter change, and one which allows retaining the *ut*. The unusual position of *sunt*, detached from *contenti*, must of course be explained as a matter of emphasis. In some of Seneca's essays a similar order is somewhat frequent. Cf. *e.g. De Const. Sap.* ix. 2; *est et illa iniuria frequens; De Prov.* vi. 9; *non sunt volnere penitus impresso scrutanda praecordia*. Haase's *adeo* would be an improvement of the text, but is not required.

Seneca is amusing himself over the common poetical tendency to indulge in effusive description, which appears to have been peculiarly marked in his day. Compare, in Petron. 1–2, Encolpius's complaint of the bad taste shown by the declaimers of the period. It was of a *tolerabilis poeta* that Seneca said (*Ep.* 122, 11) : *ortus et occasus libentissime inserebat;* but ordinary versifiers even went beyond such accredited themes as sunrises and sunsets. Cf. again Ausonius, *Ep.* xxiii (Teub.), *nullum . . . ad poeticam facundiam Romanae iuventutis aequari*, though this was of a later day. Cf. also Quintilian's chapter *de Tropis* (viii. 6, 59–61): *ornatum . . . solum* [περίφρασιν] *qui est apud poetas frequentissimus*.

iam . . . Phoebus diviserat: Neubur, in his edition, inserts a *cum* with the beginning of the following prose, as correlative to the *iam*. Mähly suggests the same. But the regularization is unnecessary, the abrupt change in the form of diction being enough. Compare the asyndeton with the beginning of *tu sic transibis*, just before.

fessas: with *habenas* by a not uncommon shift in the agreement, instead of *fessus* agreeing with the subject. Haase, Fickert, and some other editors, however, change to the latter form.

3. Claudius animam agere, etc.: Haase and some other editors make the chapter begin with the following line, *Tum Mercurius*, etc.

Rhenanus thought these words a covert allusion, *cum anima*

etiam pro vento ponatur, to Claudius's habit mentioned at the end of chapter 4. But *animam agere* is the common phrase for "give up the ghost." *Nec invenire exitum poterat*, however, is a comic elaboration of the figure. Cf. *cum anima luctatur*, below. Compare also Shakespeare, *Richard III*, i. 4, where Clarence says:

> "And often did I strive
> To yield the ghost; but still the envious flood
> Stopt in my soul, and would not let it forth
> To find the vast and wandering air;
> But smothered it within my panting bulk,
> Which almost burst to belch it in the sea."

As to the fact in Claudius's case, cf. Suet. *Cl.* 44: *excruciatumque doloribus nocte tota*; also Tac. *Ann.* xii. 67.

Mercurius . . . ingenio eius delectatus: Why? Hardly in our modern sense of simple amusement, though cf. Cicero's *ab eo delectari facilius quam decipi* (*Div. in Caecil.* 13). The clever Mercury was in no danger of being taken in. It may have been due to his fondness for chicanery, which Claudius unintentionally encouraged. See note, c. 12, on the *causidici*. Bücheler suggests an ironical allusion to the taste for eloquence of the *facundus nepos Atlantis*, since Claudius was not a bad speaker on a set occasion (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 3), or possibly to Claudius's literary studies; more especially, however, to his gambling (Suet. 33) and his encouragement of commerce. Note (Suet. 18) his interest in the provision market, and his giving of ship-subsidies, *mercaturae causa*. Compare Petronius's *Trimalchio*, who had Mercury as his patron. Here the god appears also desirous of performing his office as conductor of the dead. Cf. c. 12, 13.

unam e tribus Parcis: Clotho; see below, c. 4, init.

tam diu: This seems to refer to the length of his life rather than the mere effort implied in *nec invenire exitum poterat*, though Cortius compares Juno's pity of Dido's *longum*

dolorem, *Aen.* iv. 693. Here is a specific contrast with the *Consol ad Polyb.* c. 12: *Di illum deaeque terris diu commodent. acta hic divi Augusti aequet, annos vincat.* Compare also the ingeniously malicious flattery of L. Vitellius (Suet. *Vitell.* 2): *Huius et illa vox est 'Saepe facias,' cum saeculares ludos edenti Claudio gratularetur.*

cesset: an emendation of Bücheler's (ed. min.). The St. Gall MS. reads *nec umquam tam diu cruciatus esset.* Haase and Bücheler (ed '64) give *exiet*, from which the corruption to *esset* would have been particularly easy. But *exiet* for *exibit* is late and very exceptional, and the *c* in *cesset* may easily have been dropped from confusion with the final *s* of *cruciatus* written cursively. Another reading adopted by Ruhkopf and Holtze is *cruciandus esset;* others proposed are less probable.

annus sexagesimus quartus: as says also Suet. *Cl.* 45: *Excessit . . . sexagesimo quarto aetatis, imperii quarto decimo anno.* Cf. Dio, lx. 34: μετήλλαξε . . . ζήσας ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρία ἔτη. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 2: *Claudius natus est Iulio Antonio, Fabio Africano conss.* (*i.e.* 10 B.C.) *Kal. Aug.*

ex quo cum anima luctatur: cf. Sil. Ital. x. 295; *luctatur morti.*

rei publicae: The earlier editions have *respondit*, apparently from a copyist's mistake arising from the abbreviation of *rei publicae* in the MSS. (reip̄): see Introd. p. 92.

patere mathematicos aliquando verum dicere: *Ex post facto* veracity, a thrust at the soothsayers that can hardly be called covert. As to their expulsion from Italy, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52.

omnibus annis . . . efferunt: *i.e.* bury. Claudius was several times frightened by dreams and prophecies of his death. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 37, on the influence of these terrors. Recall also the popular pity for him as he was believed to be on his way to death at the accidental beginning of his reign (Suet. 10). His health, however, was generally better after than before he became emperor (Suet. 31). On the imme-

diate presages of his approaching death, which he recognized, cf. Suet. 46.

non est mirum si errant, etc.: His horoscope could not be cast. There seems to be a certain psychological kinship between this and raw modern jokes upon faces so ugly that they would break a camera. Recall Suet. *Cl.* 3, where his mother *portentum eum hominis dictitabat*.

horam eius: Some of the commentators consider this his *hora natalis*, by which would be determined his horoscope and consequently *hora fatalis*. But cf. c. 1: *suum diem obiit*. I incline to take *horam eius* after *efferunt*, etc., as meaning directly his *hora fatalis*, to which the inference from his birth-hour is implied in the following clause.

nemo . . . natum putavit: a proverbial expression meaning to treat as a nonentity. Cf. Petron. 58: *qui te natum non putat;* Martial, iv. 83, 3:

Securus nullum resalutas, despicis omnes,
Neque quisquam liber, nec tibi natus homo est;

also *id.* viii. 64, 18; x. 27, 4; xi. 87, 2; Plaut. *Aulul.* 231: *Gnatus quasi numquam siem;* id. *Trinum.* 850: *neque natus necne is fuerit id solide scio;* Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* ix. 15, 4: *quos ego non modo reges appellatos, sed omnino natos nesciebam*. Otto compares with the proverb, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 558: ὃς ἔμ' οὐδ' ἂν ζῶντ' ᾔδειν. For this attitude toward Claudius, cf. *Apoc.* 6: *adeo illum nemo curabat*.

dede neci, melior, etc.: from Verg. *Georg.* iv. 90, referring to the "king" bee.

mehercules: the full archaic form of the commoner *mehercle*. This was originally a man's oath, women having the corresponding *ecastor* or *edepol*. See the well-known account of the custom *ex initiis Eleusinis*, in Gell. xi. 6; and Plautine usage; also cf. Charisius (Keil. *G. L.* i. p. 198). The early distinction was coming to be lost. Cf. Petron. 17, Quartilla's use of *Medius Fidius*, likewise strictly a masculine expression. Neither Quartilla's vocabulary, however, nor perhaps Clotho's, in the

present passage, can be taken as much of a guide to the usage of polite society.

pauculos: Note the colloquial tendency to the use of diminutives.

civitate donaret: Cf. Dio, lx. 17: *συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀναξίους τῆς πολιτείας ἀπήλασε, καὶ ἑτέροις αὐτὴν καὶ πάνυ ἀνέδην, τοῖς μὲν κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοις, ἐδίδου.* Recall Claudius's remarkable speech in the Senate on this subject in connection with the citizenship of the Aeduans (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 24; cf. *C.I.L.* XIII. 1668; de Boissieu, p. 133 *seq.*). Cf. also *C.I.L.* V. 5050, a bronze tablet found in 1869 near Cles, Gallia Cisalpina, giving an edict of Claudius which confirmed the contested citizenship of the Anauni. Compare Cicero's impressions on Julius Caesar's giving of citizenship to the Sicilians, *Ep. ad Attic.* xiv. 12.

constituerat enim: Bücheler regards this sentence, on account of the tense, as a parenthetical remark by the writer, instead of as part of Clotho's speech. But it seems unnecessary to suppose that Seneca intruded himself as an essayist at this point in the dialogue, any more than to count the words as a gloss by some one else. Clotho says, "he had determined," etc.; but now it has become impossible for him to carry out his intention.

Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos: the four most promising provincial nations. On Claudius's fondness for the Greeks, cf. *e.g.* Suet. 42. Of the Gauls the Aeduans are specially meant; see reference above. Cf. Sen. *de Benef.* vi. 19, 2 *seq.*, *si princeps civitatem dederit omnibus Gallis*, etc., perhaps alluding to the same circumstances. Claudius's conquest of the Britons was still freshly in mind. After *Britannos*, the *editio princeps* added the words: *Sauromatas et si qui ultra glacialem boream incolunt barbari.* As a comic exaggeration they would perhaps help the fun, and so are not to be thrown out on subjective grounds; but they are lacking in the best MSS., and are so obviously taken from Juv. ii. 1, that they have been generally rejected by the critics, from Rhenanus

down. Schenkl compares Sen. *de Providentia*, iv. 14, *gentes, in quibus Romana pax desinit, Germanos dico et quicquid circa Istrum vagarum gentium occursat. perpetua illos hiems . . . premit, . . . super durata glacie stagna persultant*, etc.

togatos: the use of the toga being restricted to Roman citizens.

peregrinos in semen: Mercury apparently was more conservative than Fate. But according to the census of 48 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 25), there were not quite six million citizens, so as Bücheler remarks there was enough *Peregrinen-Samen* left.

capsulam: The diminutive, "little box," gives a comic aspect to the operations of destiny.

fusos: Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* iv. 46, and Ov. *Her.* xii. 4, for examples of the use of these as attributes of the Fates.

Augurini: elsewhere unknown to us.

Babae: mentioned in Seneca's *Ep.* 15, 9; *quam tu nunc vitam dici existimas stultam? Babae et Isionis?* Evidently he was a familiar example of stupidity. The name suggests it. Cf. *babaecalis*, Petron. 37; also such formations as *baburrus*, the Greek βάρβαρος, and our *babble*. Stahr thinks the humor lies in the alphabetical series, A, B, C, of the three names for which the three *fusi* are taken from the box, Clotho disposing of the three blockheads as we say "in one-two-three order."

tres uno anno: Yet Mercury and Clotho began talking in the actual death hour of Claudius; the point of view as to the time of the action is not consistently maintained. See Introd. p. 66.

nec . . . incomitatum: On Claudius's well-known dependence upon those about him, cf. Suet. 25, *fin.*, and elsewhere.

convictoribus: Cf. c. 14: *P. Petronius vetus convictor eius.* On the friends and table companions of the emperor, see Friedländer, *Sittengesch. Roms*, I. pp. 148–153 (6th ed., 1888).

4. haec ait, etc.: The following verses are a not very happy interruption to the progress of the action, an appeal,

so to say, to the imperial gallery, explained not by the needs of the play, but by the requirements of the audience. Cutting the thread of one emperor's life naturally suggests spinning that of his successor, but there is no sufficient artistic apology for the lines, which are redundant with commonplace. For the picture of the spinning, Bücheler compares Catullus, lxiv. 311 *seq.*:

Laeva colum molli lana retinebat amictum
Dextera tum leviter deducens fila supinis
Formabat digitis tum prono in pollice torquens
Libratum tereti versabat turbine fusum.

abrupit . . . tempora: *i.e.* of course the thread corresponding to that part of Claudius's career. We should have expected this function to be performed by Atropos, as that indicated in the first line by Lachesis. The technicalities of the myth seem to be rather loosely adapted.

Lachesis: the disposer of lots, who spun out all events and actions in each human life, while Clotho held the distaff.

Pieria . . . lauro: in compliment, of course, to the Apollo-like Nero.

mutatur . . . metallo: in exaggeration of the foregoing *colorem assumpsere novum*. The notion of alchemistic transformation was familiar at least since the days of Midas. Cf. Petron. 43: *in manu illius plumbum aurum fiebat.*

aurea . . . saecula: Cf. the picture in Verg. *Ecl.* iv. The allusion was hackneyed enough. Recall the verses written against Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 59):

Aurea mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar:
Incolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt.

Tithoni . . . Nestoris annos: Cf. ll. 16–18. With the proverbial use of these names to typify great age, Otto compares our "as old as Methusaleh." Cf. Martial. ii. 64, 3; v. 58, 5, and elsewhere, Nestor being often coupled with Priam; *Carmina Priapea* (ed. Bücheler), 57 and 76; Sen. *Ep.* 77, 20:

Nam si ad naturam rerum respexeris, etiam Nestoris [*vita*] *et Sattiae brevis est.* Also especially Statius, *Silv.* i. 4, 123–127:

> *Nectite nunc laetae candentia fila, sorores,*
> *Nectite! nemo modum transmissi computet aevi.*
> *Hic vitae natalis erit. tu Troica dignus*
> *Saecula et Euboici transcendere pulveris annos*
> *Nestoreosque situs!*

Phoebus adest, etc.: in further compliment to Nero.

fallitque laborem: a familiar use of the verb, here however explained by the preceding words. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 12: *studio fallente laborem*, and the same phrase in Ovid, *Met.* vi. 60. Cf. also *ibid.* viii. 651, *medias fallunt sermonibus horas*, and elsewhere.

fraternaque carmina: According to the account that the Parcae were daughters of Jupiter and Themis, Apollo was their half-brother.

mihi similis vultu, etc.: For an account of Nero's personal appearance, see Suet. *Nero*, 51. But at the present writing Nero still was more youthful. He seems to have been himself thoroughly convinced by this and similar flattery with which he was commonly greeted. We are reminded somewhat of the fashion in which Queen Elizabeth's vanity was satisfied and played upon. Nero in his way was equally a coquette.

nec cantu nec voce minor: On Nero's musical studies, see Suet. *Nero*, 20; Dio, lxi. 20, and lxiii. 20. On Apollo's supposed jealousy of his voice, Dio, lxiii. 14. For other opinions, see Suet. *Nero*, 39. Compare also Lucian's dialogue entitled *Nero*, on the Isthmian canal and Nero's tour in Greece; especially Musonius's second speech, commenting on Nero's opinion that the Muses sang no better than he, and Musonius's third speech, discussing the emperor's voice and musical ability. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 22, on Thrasea's failure to sacrifice *pro . . . caelesti voce.*

felicia lassis saecula: The *editio princeps* and other old editions read *lapsis*. Cf. Racine, *Britannicus*, ll. 200–203:

> *Rome, à trois affranchis si longtemps asservie,*
> *A peine respirant du joug qu' elle a porté,*
> *Du règne de Neron compte sa liberté.*
> *Que dis-je? la vertu semble même renaître*, etc.

Cf. also Jove's prophecy in Verg. *Aen.* i. 291, and Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 57–60, upon the Augustan Age, in the same vein.

legumque silentia rumpet: Cf. c. 12: *iurisconsulti e tenebris procedebant*, etc. Cf. also Sen. *ad Neronem de Clementia*, i. 1, 4: *legibus, quas ex situ ac tenebris in lucem evocavi.*

Lucifer, Hesperus, Sol: Cf. Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* i. 530: *stella . . . quae* Φωσφόρος *Graece, Latine dicitur Lucifer, quum antegreditur solem; quum subsequitur autem Hesperos.* *Sol* comes climactically after.

primos . . . axes: Bücheler refers to the adjective as *nicht zu erklären*, and suggests the reading *pronos*, as in Ovid, *Met.* x. 652. But *primos* seems a simple case of shifted agreement. Logically, it would be an adverb, or if an adjective, agree with the subject. Cf. *fessas habenas* (c. 2).

carcere: used generally, of the starting-point. On the word, see Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 151, 153.

talis Caesar: Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 53: *Destinaverat enim, quia Apollinem cantu, Solem aurigando aequiperare existimaretur, imitari et Herculis facta;* this defined ambition, of course, was a later affair.

fecit illud: Various changes have been suggested to rid the text of *illud*, which Bücheler brackets, because of the indefiniteness of its reference to the bidding of Apollo, just concluded; Mercury's injunction, *fac quod faciendum est*, to Clotho, is doubtless too remote to be thought of. But *illud* seems better than no object at all for *fecit*, and the expression may well stand as a colloquialism, one of those marking the break-down of the demonstrative force of *ille* in the plebeian speech.

plena manu: Cf. our "open-handed"; as Sen. *Ep.* 120, 10: *plena manu dantem.* The phrase is repeatedly used by Seneca. Cf. also Cic. *ad. Attic.* ii. 25, 1. Similarly, Petron. 43: *manu plena, uncta mensa;* and *ibid.* 64: *manuque plena scapulas eius . . . verberavit*, where the phrase perhaps means *with doubled fist*, or simply *abundantly.* Compare also the French: *depensant a pleines mains sans compter.*

de suo: The meaning of the phrase after a verb of giving is plain enough. Its rather colloquial abridgment of form is comparable to the temporal *ex quo* (c. 1, etc.). Cf. *e.g.* Gell. xii. 1, 20: *addidit enim hoc de suo;* Petron. 75: *archisellium de suo paravit*, etc.; similarly in an inscription *C.I.L.* XII. 4333.

χαίροντας, εὐφημοῦντας, etc.: from Euripides's *Cresphontes*, preserved in quotations by Strabo and Strobaeus. See Nauck, *Fr.* 452, or Dindorf's edition, vol. ii. p. 908, frag. 13 of the *Cresphontes*, or Beck's ed. ii. p. 435 *seq.* Cicero translates the fragment in his *Tusc. Disp.* i. 48, 115, from which Tyrrell (*Latin Poetry*, p. 19) gives this version in English:

"When a child's born, our friends should throng our halls
And wail for all the ills that flesh is heir to;
But when a man has done his long day's work
And goes to his long home to take his rest,
We all with joy and gladness should escort him."

With cynical finesse Seneca distorts the last verse from its sense in the original connection: there are at least two kinds of congratulation upon the end of a long life, and, as here, the same phrase will sometimes serve for both.

animam ebulliit: clearly a vulgarism, but after the analogy of *animam efflare.* Compare its use in Petron. 42 and 62. The figure is evidently of the bubbles which arise from boiling water. The verb is used absolutely in *ebulliat patruus*, Persius, ii. 9.

ex eo desiit: Cf. the frequent *ex quo*, c. 1, etc.

desiit vivere videri: For the reflection on Claudius, cf. *visus est quasi homo* (c. 5). For the form of expression, see Introd. p. 69.

comoedos audit: referring to those who were introduced by Agrippina ostensibly to entertain Claudius after he was in fact dead. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 45.

non sine causa illos timere: a joke similar in animus to the modern ones about things which make one tired.

ultima vox, etc.: a play from Claudius's defects of speech to the habit implied in Suet. 32, *fin.*

vae me: The accusative after *vae* is very rare, but is in the line of the tendency of plebeian Latin to allow the accusative to usurp many of the uses of the other oblique cases. It is found in Plaut. *Asin.* 481, and according to some editions, in Catull. viii. 15, and in Cic. *de Repub.* i. 38, 59. Compare, in principle, the use of the accusative with *evenio* in Petron. 44: *aediles male eveniat.*

concacavi: Note the hybrid formation, a Greek verb with Latin prefix. Cf. *praeputio*, c. 8.

quod an fecerit, nescio: *Quod* is here relative, with retrospective reference. The reading *quid autem fecerit*, found in several early editions, is less apt.

omnia certe concacavit: cf. Aurel. Vict. *de Vit. et Mor. Imp.* (*Cl.*): *Ita liberti eius . . . omnia foedabant.* After *concacavit*, the first edition and several succeeding ones added the words: *nec post boletum opipare medicamentis conditum plus cibi sumpsit.* This would be a stupid intrusion of facts if Seneca had written it, but it is evidently a note from Juv. v. 147, and the accounts of Suetonius and Tacitus.

5. postea: *i.e.* after Claudius *desiit vivere videri.*

scitis . . . optime: Here the writer is addressing a plural auditory; contr. *scis* in c. 1. *Optime* for *certissime.*

excidant quae memoriae . . . impresserit: so most of the editions. Bücheler puts *memoriae* before *que*, but the St. G. MS. gives *excidant que memoriae*, etc. *Impresserit* is

Bücheler's reading, instead of the commoner *impressit*, from the St. G. MS. *impressert*.

nemo . . . obliviscitur: Scheffer manages to find here an allusion to Claudius's forgetfulness.

fides penes auctorem: The ironical value of this phrase is increased by Sen. *Quaest. Nat.* iv. 3, 1: *quod historici faciunt et ipse faciam: illi cum multa mentiti sunt ad arbitrium suum, unam aliquam rem nolunt spondere, sed adiciunt, 'penes auctores fides erit.'* Sallust is one *historicus* who uses the phrase: *Bel. Jug.* 17. The present *auctor* is, of course, Geminius.

nuntiatur: The person of the messenger is apparently held in suspense in the writer's mind, for presently come the words, *quaesisse se*. Gertz suggests, *nuntiat Hora Iovi* (recalling that *ex Iliade scire potuit* [*scriptor*] *Horas Olympi ianitrices esse*), and Wachsmuth conjectures *nuntiat ⟨ianit-⟩or*, which would both avoid this difficulty and help to explain *omnes* at the end of c. 6. The suggestion is ingenious, but the hypothesis of careless composition is elsewhere so well supported that it would seem to suffice here.

venisse quendam bonae staturae, etc.: Suetonius (c. 30) describes Claudius's personal appearance: *auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit . . . praecipue quiescenti; nam et prolixo nec exili corpore erat*. Scheffer enterprisingly tries to find a hit even in the *bonae staturae*, for, as Aristotle says, those who are large are likely to be slow.

bene canum: Cf. Suet. *ibid: canitieque pulchra*. Note the use of *bene* in the sense of *valde*; see Introd. p. 69.

illum minari, assidue enim caput movere: Suet. 30, *fin.*, *caput cum semper, tum in quantulocumque actu vel maxime tremulum*. Dio, lx. 2: νοσώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ . . . ὑποτρέμειν. Compare Cassius's comment on Cæsar's ague (Shakesp. *Jul. Caes.* i. 2): "'Tis true, this god did shake." It seems to have depended on circumstances whether *caput movere* was a sign of menace or of assent. Mähly, however, objecting to the word in the former sense, proposed *meditari*.

pedem dextrum trahere: Cf. Suet. 30: *ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi.* Cf. c. 1, *non passibus aequis*; also Suet. 21: *non sine foeda vacillatione discurrens*, with possibly a similar reference. Scheffer observes that Claudius failed to put his right foot first; cf. Petron. 30, *dextro pede.*

quaesisse se: See note on *nuntiatur.*

perturbato sono et voce confusa: Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 4, in Augustus's letter on Claudius, already quoted, *qui tam* ἀσαφῶς *loquatur*, etc. So *ibid.* c. 30, *linguae titubantia*, and Dio, lx. 2: καὶ τῷ φωνήματι ἐσφάλλετο. Cf. infra: *vocem implicatam*; c. 6, *quid diceret nemo intellegebat*; c. 7, *profatu vocis incerto*; c. 10, *tria verba cito dicat*, etc.

non intellegere se linguam eius: Cf. *ibid.*; also Petron. 73: *cantica lacerare, sicut illi dicebant qui linguam eius intellegebant.*

Herculem qui: So the St. Gall and one of the Paris codices. Most of the MSS. have *quia.* Hercules appears in his very proper function of ἀλεξίκακος. Cf. Lucian, *Alex.* 4: ἀλεξίκακε Ἡράκλεις καὶ Ζεῦ ἀποτρόπαιε καὶ Διόσκουροι σωτῆρες, πολεμίοις καὶ ἐχθροῖς ἐντυχεῖν γένοιτο καὶ μὴ συγγενέσθαι τοιούτῳ τινί.

quorum hominum: *i.e. cuius nationis.*

sane perturbatus: Note the colloquial adverb and the difference between it and *bene* above.

ut qui etiam non omnia monstra timuerit: This is the MS. reading, retained in the texts of Schusler and Bücheler's *editio minor*, but which nearly all the earlier editors thought it necessary to emend, even Bücheler, in his edition of 1864, changing *timuerit* to *sustinuerit*: *i.e.* Hercules had not yet withstood all monsters. Similarly Fickert and Lindemann, following Nic. Faber and Lipsius, give *domuerit.* Ruhkopf and Holze give *non iunonia monstra timuerit*, the *iunonia* being from the reading of Gronovius; *i.e.* but possibly Hercules did fear this new monster. With a similar idea Baehrens suggests: *ut qui victa non omnia monstra timuerit.* Haase reverses the structure; *ut quem etiam non omnia*

monstra timuerint, here being one which did not. Others make various combinations. Schmidt defends the MS. reading, but understands *timuerit* in the special sense of *pugnaverit*, citing from Seneca's *Hercules* to sustain this interpretation.

All these efforts are unnecessary. *Ut qui* introducing a concessive clause is good Latin; cf. *e.g.* Livy, xxxix. 43, 1: . . . *Valerius Antias, ut qui nec orationem . . . legisset*, etc. The apparent difficulty is the word *omnia*, which is really in the indefinite sense of *any*, supported by *etiam*. This time Hercules was afraid, even though he was reputed to be (cf. *videatur* above) one who did not fear all the monsters.

ut vidit . . . vocem: zeugma.

novi generis faciem: possibly a hint at Claudius's inconsiderate introduction of novelties; see Introd. p. 9. Cf. Suet. 2: *palliolatus, novo more; id.* 14: *novo circa principem exemplo . . .* [consul] *suffectus*.

nullius terrestris animalis, etc.: Cf. Jul. *Caes.* 4, Silenus (on the entrance of Augustus), βαβαί, ἔφη, τοῦ παντοδαποῦ τούτου θηρίου.

putavit sibi tertium decimum laborem venisse: the twelve labors of Hercules being one of the most familiar of mythological allusions. Cf. Petron. 48, *numquid duodecim aerumnas Herculis tenes?* His comic dread of further trouble has occasioned the efforts of some of the emenders of the passage *ut qui . . . timuerit* above.

facillimum . . . Graeculo: Ruhkopf thinks this refers to Claudius: *i.e.* the verse from Homer was easy for him to understand. It is better to refer the jocular diminutive to Hercules, which gives *facillimum* a more direct reference to *ait*. Juvenal's passage (*Sat.* iii. 77) on the Greek parasite, *Omnia novit Graeculus esuriens; in caelum miseris, ibit*, is accidentally apt. Cf. *id. Sat.* iii. 100: *natio comoeda est.*

τίς πόθεν, etc.: from Homer, *Od.* i. 170. Ruhkopf and some of the early editors omit ἠδὲ τοκῆες and end the quotation with πτόλις. The verse is notable as being the

one successful guess of Beatus Rhenanus in his attempts to conjecture the missing Greek quotations in his first edition of the *Ludus*. So much of it is also suggestively used in a Greek epigram by Marcus Argentarius, which would have been accessible to Rhenanus in the anthology of Planudes (vii. 95), and is found in the *Anthologia Palatina*, v. 112 (ed. Teub.):

Ἡράσθης πλουτῶν Σωσίκρατες· ἀλλὰ πένης ὢν
Οὐκέτ' ἐρᾷ· λιμὸς φάρμακον οἷον ἔχει·
Ἡ δὲ πάρος σε καλεῦσα μύρον καὶ τερπνὸν Ἄδωνιν
Μηνοφίλα, νῦν σου τοὔνομα πυνθάνεται.
Τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις; ἦ μόλις ἔγνως
Τοῦτ' ἔπος, ὡς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἔχοντι φίλος.

Lipsius in the *Somnium* (c. 3) uses the verse in the same way that we find it in the *Apocolocyntosis*.

Claudius gaudet esse illic philologos homines: In Seneca's mind this word apparently had no very favorable color. For its meaning, cf. his *Ep.* 108, 24 and 30, on the kind of commentary a *philologus* would make on Cicero's *De Re Publica*. He was a species of antiquarian, a person *multiplici variaque doctrina* (Suet. *Gramm.* 10). On the habit of using Greek quotations, cf. Cic. *de Off.* i. 31, 111: [*ut*] *sermone eo debemus uti, qui innatus est nobis, ne, ut quidam Graeca inculcantes, iure optimo rideamur*. So also Horace on Lucilius (*Sat.* i. 10, 20).

historiis suis: Cf. especially Suet. *Cl.* 41, 42. See also Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, p. 295, where the extant quotations, chiefly in Pliny's *N. H.*, from Claudius's histories are gathered. He wrote in Greek twenty books Τυρρηνικῶν and eight books Καρχηδονιακῶν, besides, in Latin, his two books beginning *post caedem Caesaris dictatoris* and his forty-one *a pace civili*. In addition to these histories were the eight books *de Vita Sua*, a defence of Cicero against the books of Asinius Gallio, a work on the art of dice-playing (Suet. 33), and one on the three letters which he proposed as

additions to the Latin alphabet. See Introd. p. 14. On the value of Claudius's literary labors, which the *sperat futurum aliquem historiis suis locum* implies was problematical, see pp. 10, 13.

et ipse Homerico versu: In connection with his fondness for Greek, and especially for Homeric quotations, note, besides Suet. 42, also his interest in the Trojan legend and remission of tribute to the *Ilienses* (*id.* 25, and Tac. *Ann.* xii. 58) and his exhibition of the *Troiae lusum* (Suet. 21). Compare also Dio, lx. 16: καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους (*i.e.* the soldiers) καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τοιουτότροπα Ἑλληνιστὶ παρεφθέγγετο· ὥστε καὶ γέλωτα παρὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἔστιν ἃ αὐτῶν συνεῖναι ὀφλισκάνειν.

Ἰλιόθεν με, etc.: *Odys.* ix. 39. The professed descendant of Aeneas might poetically claim to have been brought among barbarians (Κικόνεσσι), as the Romans would be, from the Homeric point of view. This verse is parodied in an epigram by Automedon in the *Anthol. Pal.* xi. 346, where, shortly after the supposed inquiry, ζητεῖς, ποῦ σε φέρωσι πόδες, comes the answer (l. 7):

> Κυζικόθεν σε φέρων ἄνεμος Σαμόθραξι πελάσσεν.
> τοῦτό σε τοῦ λοιποῦ τέρμα μένει βιότου.

erat . . . αὐτούς: evidently an *aside* by the narrator, though Schusler oddly concludes: *ex verbis illis, 'aeque Homericus,' sequentem versum ipse Claudius etiam adiecisse habendus est.*

aeque Homericus: As to the genuineness of these words the critics are divided. Bücheler (ed. of 1864 and Rh. Mus. xiv. 447) says they appear to be a gloss, and Wachsmuth condemns them. Baumstark and Schenkl maintain that they are genuine. Wehle is unconvinced. Bücheler, in his *editio minor*, leaves them *suspecta*. There is reason for retaining them as a part of Seneca's original expression. Of course, for the stating of facts, they are tautological. After the phrase, *Homerico versu, sequens versus* is obviously *aeque Homericus*. As a gloss the words would be stupid enough. But the bal-

ance of emphasis after *verior* requires the repetition of them in view of the grim humor of the quotation, and Seneca's wit would hardly have required that of a mediaeval commentator to supplement it.

6. et imposuerat: On the colloquial flavor of this chapter see the Introd. p. 72. For the use of *impono* in this modern sense, cf. Petron. 102: *utcunque imponi nihil dormienti posset;* and Cicero's letters, *passim.*

Herculi minime vafro: The *editio princeps* gave the reading, *Herculi minimo discrimine fabulam*, which was followed in many subsequent editions; most of the inferior manuscripts have *fabros* instead of *vafro*. The *homini* which appears after *Herculi* in Haase's and Schusler's texts is a conjecture of Junius.

The gullibility of Hercules is illustrated by Ovid; cf. *Her.* ix. 113. The hero may have been the more inclined to sympathy with Claudius since he himself had been received from earth to heaven. Cf. Ov. *Met.* ix. 254 *seq.*, where Jupiter explains to the gods, in regard to the immortal portion of Hercules:

> *Idque ego defunctum terra caelestibus oris*
> *Accipiam, cunctisque meum laetabile factum*
> *Dis fore confido.*

Febris: the officially reported cause of Claudius's death; the well-known Roman fever. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* ii. 7, 15–16: *numina . . . invenimus, inferis quoque in genera discriptis, morbisque et multis etiam pestibus, dum esse placatas trepido metu cupimus; ideoque etiam publice Febris fanum in Palatio dicatum est.* So Fever had been a neighbor of Claudius. Cf. Cic. *de N. D.* iii. 25, 63; id. *de Leg.* ii. 11, 28: *araque stat in Palatio Febris, et altera Esquiliis;* cf. also Val. Max, ii. 5, 6.

ceteros omnes deos Romae reliquerat: Bücheler (ed. 1864) characterized this clause as suspicious, not because the gods are presently found all in heaven (see Introd. p. 67), but

because *es an sich matt, ohne alle Spitze ist*. One might find in the words, however, an additional bit of compliment for the new régime at Rome.

mera mendacia narrat: Cf. *narro*, below, and see p. 68.

ego tibi dico: Cf. the same colloquial expression in Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 217; cf. also Petron. 64: *Trimalchio 'tibi dico' inquit . . . 'nihil narras.'* There is a similar vulgar emphasis upon Trimalchio's favorite pronoun, *e.g.* in c. 56, in the repetition of *ego puto*.

tot annis vixi: Note, as below in *multis annis regnavit*, the ablative of the *time when*, rather than the accusative of duration. Apparently the idiom was commoner in the *sermo vulgaris* than in literature. See Introd. p. 72, on the familiar plebeian epitaph formula; cf. Petron. 57: *annis quadraginta servivi;* also Sen. *Ep.* 108, 5: *multis . . . annis persederint*. On the effect which Fever's constancy had had upon Claudius's health, see Suet. 2 and 31.

Lugudúni natus est: So also says Suet. *Cl.* 2; Cf. Dio Cas. liv. 36. Claudius's mother, Antonia, was following her husband, Drusus, to the German wars, 10 B.C. Wachsmuth and Mähly consider the words a gloss.

Marci municipem vides: This is the reading of the MSS., and that it is not to us clearly intelligible does not necessarily condemn it. Bücheler, in his *editio minor*, thinks it a corruption of a Gallic name, as is Marcomagnum, from *μάρκαν ecum*. Gertz proposes the name *Momori*, of the Celtic augur (Μώμορος), who was said to have given the name to Lugudunum (cf. Plutarch, *de Fluviis*, vi. 4). Bücheler in his larger edition (1864) said that *Marci* is quite senseless, and substituted *Planci*, after Gronovius, from L. Munatius Plancus, who in 43 B.C. was one of the founders of the *Colonia Claudia Copia Augusta Lugudunensis*. Ruhkopf and other modern editors adopted the conjecture of Rhenanus, *Munatii*, which is less probable, as the founder of the colony was commonly known as Plancus; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 91, 14, alluding to the great fire in Lugudunum [*colonia*] *a Planco deducta* . . .

quot . . . gravissimos casus intra spatium humanae senectutis tulit! See also Cicero's correspondence with Plancus. It is scarcely to be supposed that *Marci* is simply a mistake of Plancus's praenomen, though this is possible. In that case, to call Claudius one of Marcus's citizens would be an easy jest. De Boissieu (*Inscr. de Lyon*, p. 125) thought that Mark Antony, the triumvir, is referred to. He cites this passage in connection with the statement in Appian (*Bel. Civ.* iv.) that Antony had the government of Gaul for two or three years, beginning in 43 B.C., and reproduces *quinarii* struck at Lugudunum by Antony during that time, in support of the theory that the town was under his patronage, and from him called *Marci municipium*. Turnebe's explanation of the phrase (*Advers.* ii. 304, 1), that it denoted such a kind of citizen as Cicero was, *non verum germanumque, sed inquilinum*, etc., is perhaps notable as an imaginative effort.

quod tibi narro: "That's what I say." Cf. *narro tibi* in Cicero's Letters, *ad Attic.* i. 16, 10; ii. 7, 2; xiii. 51, 2. See Introd. p. 68.

ad sextum decimum lapidem . . . a Vienna: There may be additional irony in thus locating Lugudunum, as if it were a suburb of the rival town. See Tac. *Hist.* i. 65. Vienna, the ancient capital of the Allobroges, was in Claudius's time a Roman colony in the province of Narbonensis. The distance agrees with that given in the *Itinerarium Antonini, per compendium XVI.*

quod Gallum facere oportebat: evidently an allusion to the capture by Brennus. Compare the similar pleasantry about the Irish, that they rule every country but their own. Claudius himself recalled (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 24), *capti a Gallis sumus.*

ego tibi recipio: the reading of the best MSS. The *editio princeps* and many of the later ones give *ego reddo tibi. Recipio* in this sense is like the Greek ἀναδέχομαι, "I warrant you," I take the responsibility, a usage especially frequent in Cicero's letters.

ubi Licinus: the reading of Bücheler. Earlier editions give *Licinius*, as in the MSS., from a mistaken assimilation to the Roman gentile name. He was a native Gaul, a slave and freedman of Julius Caesar. Dio Cassius (liv. 21) outlines his career. By Augustus he was appointed procurator of *Gallia Lugudunensis*, where he acquired great wealth and became notorious for the tyranny with which he satisfied his envy of those who had once been his superiors. Hence the humorous *regnavit*. He carried his ingenious extortions to the length of collecting monthly dues fourteen months in the year, reasoning that since *December* was the tenth month, it required two more after it. When he learned that Augustus had been informed against him, he voluntarily presented to the emperor his ill-gotten gains, which he said he had gathered for that purpose, and so saved his skin. His name became proverbial for a rich parvenu. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 119, 9; Pers. ii. 36; Juv. i. 109 and 306; Mart. viii. 3, 6. The epitaph by Varro Atacinus, written on his famous marble tomb, is given in Meyer, *Anth. Lat.* I. 77, as follows:

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, at Cato nullo,
Pompeius parvo: quis putet esse deos?

Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 4, 24, on Licinus's contributions to Augustus's public works, and the trick by which the emperor doubled one of them.

tu autem: Bücheler thinks this is addressed to Claudius, who had said he came from Ilium rather than Lugudunum, the *plura loca calcasti* being an allusion to Claudius's long expeditions to Britain (Suet. 17; Dio, lx. 21; Pliny *N. H.* iii. 16, 119), and Claudius's rage a direct reply. But it is far more natural to understand *Febris* as continuing her talk to Hercules, the *tu autem* marking her transition from the correction of his mistake to a direct reproach for his stupidity. Hercules's wanderings to and fro in the earth were not only familiar, but expressly referred to in c. 5. *Excandescit*

hoc loco clearly indicates that Claudius's outburst was an interruption.

mulio perpetuarius: Note the formation of the word. This is defined by Friedländer as meaning one *qui peregrinatores eodem vehiculo, eisdem iumentis quocunque vellent deportaret, etiam in locos remotissimos*. In the *Codex Justinianus*, *perpetuarius* is applied to an hereditary tenant.

Lugudunenses scire debes et: The *et*, which appears in other MSS., is lacking in that of St. Gall., and Bücheler, omitting it, brackets *Lugudunenses*. But the repetition as it stands is rhetorically good, and it is easier to suppose *et* accidentally dropped in the St. G. MS. than *Lugudunenses* accidentally, or even stupidly as a gloss, inserted elsewhere. For *scire* we should have expected *cognoscere*, but the speaker appears, by a species of zeugma, to have suited his word to the following clause. Gertz, however, proposes the reading, *quam ullus mulio perpetuarius Lugudunensis;* with the explanation that *Lugudunum totius Galliae caput erat, in media terra situm*, διόπερ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἔτεμε *ut ait Strabo*, p. 208; *veri simile ergo mihi videtur muliones Lugudunenses praeter alios multa et longa itinera percurrisse*.

Xanthum et Rhodanum: for the sites of Ilium and Lugudunum. Birt suggests that here may be a play on the words: he ought to know the difference between yellow (ξανθός) and red (ῥοδανός from ῥόδον).

excandescit . . . irascitur: Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 30: *ira turpior;* ibid. 38: *irae atque iracundiae conscius sibi*, etc.

quid diceret nemo intellegebat: See Introd. p. 6.

Febrim duci iubebat: Cf. c. 13: *quos Narcissus duci iusserat*. *Ducere*, either with or without specification of the *terminus ad quem*, was the regular legal term for leading away to prison or execution. See Lexicon.

gestu solutae manus: "limp"; not strictly comparable to *pollice verso* (Juv. iii. 36). On Claudius's trembling hands, cf. Dio, lx. 2. Compare also Pallas's odious fashion of

giving commands *nutu aut manu . . . ne vocem consociaret* (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 23).

decollare: properly, to remove (a burden) from the neck. For its first use in the sense of "behead" by Fenestella, cf. Diomedes's explanation (Keil. *G.L.* I. p. 365): *Veteres autem securi caesos dicebant.* The usage appears to be colloquial. Cf. Petron. 51; also Suet. *Cal.* 32, *miles decollandi artifex;* Sen. *de Ira*, iii. 18, 4, on Caligula's cruelty so great *ut . . . ad lucernam decollaret.* On Claudius's taste for this sort of thing, cf. Suet. 34.

putares omnes: No others than Febris and Hercules have been mentioned; see Introd. p. 67, and note on *nuntiatur.*

adeo illum nemo curabat: as he had often been snubbed before. On his subservience to his freedmen, Introd. p. 11.

7. tu desine: Note the colloquial insistence upon the pronoun.

fatuari: to talk nonsense; from *fatuus*, a fool; as according to the Graeco-Latin glossaries, μωραίνειν; but with perhaps a punning allusion to the other sense of the word, to talk oracularly, like Fatuus the inspired Faunus; *i.e.* drop your incomprehensible tone and come down to facts, hard facts, as the following indicates.

ubi mures ferrum rodunt: This seems calculated to impress the timid Claudius with the strenuousness of life in the region to which he has come. Otto, however, interprets the proverb, which does not elsewhere occur, as a particular reference to mice getting their heads into the trap, and compares the Greek saying, ἄρτι μῦς πίττης γεύεται, Demosth. 1215, 10 (Reiske's pp. in *Oratt. Attici.*); cf. Theocr. xiv. 51; *i.e.* "now, Claudius, you have walked into a place where you will get caught." Bücheler cites from Pliny an instance in which mice once ate iron (*N. H.* viii. 57, 222, ed. Teub.).

ne tibi alogias excutiam: like similar vulgar threats in English. *Alogias*, a plebeian Grecism; see Introd. p. 69. Cf. Petron. 58, in Hermeros's angry tirade, *non didici geometrias, critica, et alogias menias.*

tragicus fit: The suggestion of sham recalls Dionysus's impersonation of Heracles in the *Frogs*. Hercules was always dramatic. Here he strikes an attitude, and declaims.

cluas: the Greek κλύω; in Latin more commonly of the second conjugation, but not thoroughly classical; chiefly used by Plautus and Lucretius. It contributes here intentionally to the artificial effect.

stipite clava: Hercules's well-known weapon.

profatu vocis incerto: Claudius apparently mumbles an interruption.

mobile . . . caput: Cf. *caput movere*, c. 5.

regna tergemini . . . regis: Geryon, whose cattle, according to the familiar story, Hercules drove to Argos (*Inachia urbs*) by way of Gaul.

duobus imminens fluviis iugum: Seneca, in his letter to Lucilius (91) on the burning of Lugudunum, also mentions the location of the town on a hill. Cf. de Boissieu, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 126, on the site.

Ararque dubitans, quo suos cursus agat, etc.: Cf. Caes. *B. G.* i. 12: *Flumen est Arar, quod . . . in Rhodanum influit incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, iudicari non possit.* Cf. Plin. *N. H.* iii. 4 (5), 33: *Araris . . . praeiacentibus stagnis.*

haec satis animose et fortiter; nihilo minus, etc.: Schusler quotes Sen. *de Ira*, i. 20: *Non est quod credas irascentium verbis, quorum strepitus magni, minaces sunt, intra mens pavidissima.*

mentis suae non est: Hercules was bluffing; his manner did not "accuse" his mind. *Mentis* is subjective genitive. It is in a different sense that we say, "It was not to his mind." Contrast also the same expression in Cic. *Pison.* 21, *mentis suae esse*, where it is like *mentis compotem esse*. With Hercules's anxiety compare that of Silenus, Jul. *Caes.* 4, τί ποτ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσεται;

μωροῦ πληγήν: an easy parody. In Greek tragedy, a θεοῦ πληγή was proverbial for an unexpected stroke of irrespon-

sible destiny. Cf. *e.g.* Soph. *Ajax*, 278: δέδοικα μὴ 'κ θεοῦ πληγή τις ἥκει. In the present instance the irresponsibility is that of a crazy man. Note the same substitution of μωροῦ for θεοῦ at the end of c. 8.

virum valentem: The use of participles in *-ns* as attributive adjectives marks a certain plebeian tendency in the language. The phrase has been objected to (by G. D. Koeler, *t.* Ruhkopf), but it easily justifies itself by the comic effect which it doubtless had to a Roman ear, somewhat as "strong man" has occasionally in our vernacular.

oblitus nugarum: recalling *desine fatuari* and *ne . . . alogias excutiam.* Note the same popular expression, quite as we say "forgetting his nonsense," in Petron. 71 and 136. Cf. Jul. *Caes.* 4, παῦσαι, εἶπεν, ληρῶν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων.

gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse: evidently a popular saw, recalling our proverbial "cock of the walk." The play on Claudius's Gallic origin is obvious. The same pun appeared also at the time of the Gallic insurrection under Nero, *Gallos eum cantando excitasse.* Cf. *quod Gallum facere oportebat*, c. 6.

fortissime deorum: Cf. *valde fortis licet tibi videaris*, infr.

adfuturum: used particularly of advocates and witnesses. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 17.

notorem: a late word for the more exact *cognitor.* It is practically defined by Seneca (*Ep.* 39, 1), *qui notorem dat ignotus est.* Cf. Petron. 92: *at ego ne mea quidem vestimenta . . . recepissem, nisi notorem dedissem.*

tibi ante templum tuum: This is the reading of the MSS. Bücheler ingeniously emends, changing *tibi* to *Tiburi* on account of Suet. *Aug.* 72: [*Augustus*] *frequentavit . . . Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persaepe ius dixit*; for, as he says, there was no temple of Hercules in Rome where the emperor would have been likely to hold court. But, lacking other evidence, I have preferred the manuscript reading *tibi*, which, it is to be remarked, does not exclude the supposition that it was Hercules's temple at Tibur to which Claudius was

referring. Wherever it was, Hercules would know, and so would the Roman public, without the local name. There is no objection to the colloquial repetition, *tibi . . . tuum;* and, as Tyrrell says (ed. Cic. *Epist.* Vol. I. p. 62), the use of the ethical dative was especially common in Cicero's epistles and the comic poets, the great repositories of colloquial usage.

ius dicebam totis diebus mense Iulio et Augusto: On Claudius's exaggerated faithfulness to this duty, see Introd. p. 9. Cf. c. 12, *quis nunc iudex*, etc.; Suet. *Cl.* 14; Dio Cas. lx. 4, etc. July was the regular month for vacation from court sessions (note *mense* instead of *mensibus*, showing that the two months are separately considered), and the calendar shows many holidays for August. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 21, 2: *mense Iulio quo maxime lites interquiescunt.* Claudius even held court, according to Dio, lx. 5, on the day of his daughter's betrothal. The peculiarities by which he distinguished his magistracy were no less likely to be thought of. Cf. Suet. 15, etc. Among them, that he was more inclined to be lax in winter time is shown by Suet. *Galba*, 14: *Iudicibus . . . concessum a Claudio beneficium ne hieme initioque anni ad iudicandum evocarentur, eripuit* Galba. Note the case of *totis diebus*, although the chief idea is of duration, as in *tot annis vixi* (c. 6), etc.

miseriarum: perhaps referring to the insults to which he exposed himself (cf. Suet. 15), and the weariness which sometimes made him go to sleep in court (*id.* 33), or perhaps to the woes to which he had to listen.

contulerim: This is the reading of all the best manuscripts (St. G., Val., Guelf., Paris 6630, etc.), but avoided by nearly all the editors. Bücheler gives *tulerim;* Ruhkopf, Fickert, Schusler, and others, *pertulerim.* Yet *contulerim*, though Schenkl calls it senseless, seems quite comprehensible. The amassing of woes in a law court is a common idea. Or possibly the prefix *con-* here simply indicates a plebeian compound without any special distinction of meaning from the simple verb.

causidicos: The slur is surprising, in view of the end of c. 12; but Claudius had been chiefly their easy victim rather than their friend.

cloacas Augeae: For the familiar story of Hercules's Augean labor, the cleansing of what is variously described as *bubile, ovilia*, etc., see Hyginus, *Fab.* 30; Serv. *ad Aen.* viii. 299; cf. Varro, *Bimarcus*, frag. 26 (Bücheler), from Nonius, p. 242:

Non Hercules potest, qui Augeae egessit κόπρον.

Otto cites Tert. *ad Nat.* ii. 9, *plus fimi Augias conferebat*, and the comparison might be extended to the preceding question: *Quid Sterculus meruit ad divinitatem?*

multo plus ego stercoris exhausi: Cortius says of this, *glossulam haec sapiunt*. But if it is a little too flat for Seneca, it is Claudius who is talking.

sed quoniam volo: Perhaps here Claudius begins the persuasion which proved effective with Hercules. The break which follows in the MSS., if due, as is supposed, to the loss of even only one leaf from the archetype from which they are all derived, would seem to have included in the gap more incidents than have been suggested in the various attempts to fill it.

8. non mirum, quod impetum in curiam fecisti: The changed situation indicates at least something of what must have intervened. These words are evidently spoken by one of the members of the Olympian senate (cf. c. 9, *init.*), which seems to be organized after the pattern of that at Rome. They are addressed presumably to Hercules, whom Claudius has succeeded in inducing to be his *notor* and advocate. The unsophisticated champion has brought his protégé into the *curia*, and stated his desire that he be admitted to the celestial fellowship. He is met with some unparliamentary reproaches, the beginning of which we have lost.

nihil tibi clausi est: Stahr suggests that this is a playful hint at Hercules's violent entrance into the under world. Note the use of the partitive genitive as predicate, and its oddly quantitative effect.

Ἐπικούρειος θεὸς non potest esse: οὔτε αὐτὸς πράγμα ἔχει τι οὔτε ἄλλοις παρέχει: Bücheler reads . . . *πράγματ' ἔχει οὔτε κτέ.* The reading here given, which is also that of Haase, involves a slighter change from the St. Gall text, which has *πραγμα εχιετουτε κτέ.* The Val. reading seems to confirm this position of *τι.* With *οὔτε αὐτὸς*, etc., a relative is to be understood, though *ὅς* need not be inserted into the text as it was by Fromond and others following. Mähly proposes to insert *γὰρ* instead, apparently forgetting, since *αὐτὸς* would refer to Claudius, what sort of a person an Epicurean god was. This definition resembles the phraseology of Diog. Laert. x. 139: *τὸ μακαρίον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πρᾶγμά τι ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει.* So also is the *sententia of Epicurus* given by Cicero (*de N. D.* i. 17, 45): *Quod beatum aeternumque sit, id nec habere ipsum negotii quicquam nec exhibere alteri.* Cf. id. *de Off.* iii. 28: *eorum . . . qui deum nihil habere ipsum negotii dicunt, et nihil exhibere alteri.* Cf. also Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* xiv. 2: *Licet . . . cum Epicuro quiescere.* Claudius would be excluded on either count; cf. c. 3, *cum anima luctatur*, while that he had been a bother to others Augustus was a witness. Lipsius's *Somnium*, c. 15, quotes this same definition of an *Ἐπικούρειος θεός.*

'rotundus' . . . ut ait Varro, 'sine capite, sine praeputio': supposably from one of Varro's *Saturae Menippeae;* Schenkl suggests the *Γνῶθι σεαυτόν.* The words would fit the iambic senarius. For a dignified outline of the Stoic conception of God, cf. Cic. *de N. D.* i. 15, 39. The word *rotundus* (cf. *ibid.* i. 8, 18) was an effort to make it objective, which sometimes resulted in a joke. Compare Seneca on the question, *an virtutes animalia sint* (*Ep.* 113, 22): *si rotundam* [*figuram*] *illis qualem deo dederint* [*quidam*] . . . The added detail in Varro's description, Bücheler suggests, is a playful allusion to the form of the roadside Hermae, simple columns except for the members named. Note the hybrid word *praeputio.* See Introd. p. 69.

nec cor nec caput habet: referring doubtless to his *oblivio et inconsiderantiam* (Suet. 39). So he is referred to in Julian's *Caesares*, c. 6: ἔστι γὰρ ἐκείνων [i.e. *libertorum*] δίχα τουτὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικροῦ δέω φάναι καὶ ἄψυχον. The words are perhaps a reminiscence of Cato's well-known gibe at the Roman embassy sent to make peace between Nicomedes and Prusias (Liv. *epit. lib.* l.), *dixit Cato eam legationem nec caput nec pedes nec cor habere* (cf. Plutarch, Μάρκος Κάτων); similarly the common proverb *nec caput nec pedes*, for *neither beginning nor end*. Seneca might have included the *pedes* also, since Claudius, too, was weak on his legs. Cf. Petron. 59: *et tu cum esses capo, cocococo, atque cor non habebas*, ibid. 63: *non cor habebat, non intestina, non quicquam*, of the supposititious bundle of straw left by the witches in place of a dead boy.

mehercules: emended in many of the editions to *mi Hercules*. But there is even a comic aspect of this careless swearing by Hercules to his face.

cuius mensem toto anno celebravit Saturnalicius princeps: *Saturnalicius* is Bücheler's reading, after Junius's *Saturnalitius*, from the MS. *Saturnalia eius*, which Lipsius and others condemned as a gloss. Schusler ejects also *princeps*.

It is, as we should say, this Lord of Misrule. Cf. c. 12. *Dicebam vobis, non semper Saturnalia erunt*. Recall Tiberius's contemptuous gift to Claudius in his earlier days, of forty *aurei, in Saturnalia et Sigillaria* (Suet. *Cl.* 5). With reference to his fondness for feasting, cf. *ibid.* 32, 33. Seneca begins his 18th epistle: *December est mensis, cum . . . ingenti apparatu sonant omnia, tamquam quicquam inter Saturnalia intersit et dies rerum agendarum: adeo nihil interest ut ⟨non⟩ videatur mihi errasse, qui dixit olim mensem Decembrem fuisse, nunc annum;* a noteworthy parallel from the same author. Cf. Petron. 44: . . . *semper Saturnalia agunt*. Also *ibid.* 58, where a boy is charged with misbehavior: *io Saturnalia, rogo, mensis December est?* Cf. Dio Cas. lx. 19, where the mutinous soldiers of A. Plau-

tius responded with the same cry, Ἰὼ Σατουρνάλια, to the speech of Narcissus.

nedum ab Iove, etc.: according to the emendation of Gronovius. A reading involving less change from the MS., and nearly like that of Ruhkopf, would be: *si mehercules a Saturno petisse⟨s⟩* (for the MS. *t.*) *hoc beneficium, cuius mense⟨m⟩ toto* (MS. *in toto*) *anno celebravit* (*Saturnalia eius* being regarded as a gloss) *princeps, non tulisset* (*i.e.* Saturnus, as mediator) *illum deum ab Iove, quem* (MS. *iovem, qui*, a simple metathesis) *quantum*, etc. Addressed to Hercules this would be entirely consistent, but it perhaps involves too complex a transaction to be quite plausible. As to *Saturnalia eius*, with the text having *mense* instead of *mensem*, the insertion of these words to supply an apparently missing object for *celebravit* would be not unnatural. But *Saturnalicius* is quite in the spirit of the passage.

damnavit incesti: by implication, for Jove was guilty of what Silanus was charged with. Recall the familiar designation of Juno (*Aen.* i. 46), *Iovisque et soror et coniunx.*

Silanum enim generum suum: L. Iunius Silanus Torquatus was betrothed to Claudius's daughter Octavia; the charge of incest was trumped up against him by Vitellius the censor, and received with easy suspicion by Claudius. For his history, see note, c. 10.

propterea quod: This is Bücheler's reading (*editio minor*), and on the whole it seems the most satisfactory, as well as an ingenious adaptation. The best MSS. texts have *oro per quod*, which Bücheler in his edition of 1864 gave with the indication of a break between *per* and *quod*, as was done by Nic. Faber. Rhenanus suggested *eo quod.* The reading common to most of the editions after Lipsius is *oro propter quid? Oro per quid?* has been suggested by Schenkl; by Haupt, *propter quid* without *oro*. But forms of *qui* as an interrogative substantive are not uncommon, and it does not seem quite impossible that even so rude a phrase as the *oro*

per quod of the MSS. may have been familiar in the brevities of vulgar colloquy.

sororem suam festivissimam omnium puellarum: Iunia Calvina, as Tacitus says (*Ann.* xii. 4), was *sane decora et procax*. Apparently by some imprudence she gave her accusers their pretext. At Silanus's death she was exiled from Italy. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 8. In Racine's play of *Britannicus* she figures as *amante de Britannicus*.

Venerem: evidently because she was so charming. Silanus, it is alleged, preferred to have her in the double relation of Juno. Cf. Sen. *Octavia*, 219–221, *Nutrix Octaviae:*

Tu quoque terris
Altera Iuno soror Augusti
Coniuxque.

quare, inquis: Bücheler reads *inquit*. It seems to me that in the mutilated state of the text, at least, it makes the paragraph more simple and intelligible to put it all into the mouth of one objector, than to suppose *inquit* without any indication of the subject. The question, *quare . . . sororem suam*, by blaming Silanus implies the justification of Claudius.

quaero: Cf. the frequent colloquial insertion of *rogo*, like our "say!" in Petronius; *e.g.* 55 and 58.

stulte, stude: This is included by Otto in his *Sprichwörter* as having a proverbial color.

Athenis: Cimon's marriage with Elpinice is the familiar example of marriage with a half-sister (*soror germana*, of the same father).

Alexandriae: as in the marriages of the Ptolemies, brother and sister.

"quia Romae," inquis: The interruption is presumably by the same defender of Claudius as before. Some have thought it to be Claudius himself. Bücheler takes this *quia*, etc., as a direct return to Hercules's main contention, a reason why Claudius should be received as a god; *i.e.* that he had got things in Rome into such fine order that he would be an

effective addition to heavenly society. It seems better, however, to relate the words to those more immediately going before, indicating the contrast between Rome and the other cities whose moral standards have been cited.

mures molas lingunt: This has the air of a proverb, but as to its meaning the critics are by no means agreed. Some think it sets forth the wickedness of Rome; others that it indicates quite the contrary. *Molas* probably refers to the consecrated sacrificial meal.

Rhenanus took the sentence to refer to the *mollities* of the Romans: bad as they were, they were discriminating in their vices, as the mice would only eat the most select article. Fromond took it as a jest at the severities of Claudius's censorship. Neubur emended the passage altogether, making '*atqui Romani*' *inquit Claudius* '*mores nos obligant*,' which makes very good sense, but dodges the difficulty. Guasco thought the remark might mean that at Rome the worship of the gods is so deserted that the mice get at the consecrated meal. Schusler took it to imply that Claudius showed the same arrogance in claiming the right to correct the morals of Olympus, that the mice did in eating *molas nobis destinatas*. Bücheler's interpretation has already been given. Stahr thought that *molas* means the fruit mentioned by Pliny in his *Nat. Hist.* (vii. 15, 63, and x. 64, 184); so that the sense would be that Claudius has stupidly condemned Silanus for a little careless joking, while the most criminal practices are in every corner. This, however, is not only far to seek, but directly contrary to the meaning of the passage.

The connection shows that these words imply a defence of Claudius, justifying the condemnation of Silanus, since the thing which was half allowed at Athens, and wholly so at Alexandria, is at Rome not permissible at all. Mice and men are so finically careful at Rome (as Develay translates it, *les souris vivent de gâteaux*), that Claudius had to apply a strict standard. It is possible, however, that the meaning turns upon the more commonly known propensity of mice.

Cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 58: *Quasi mures semper edere alienum cibum.* Schenkl recalls the name of one of the mice in the *Batrachomyomachia* (29), Λειχομύλη. On this supposition the words would mean that Silanus, like a mouse, took what he was not entitled to.

hic nobis curva corriget: The MS. reading is *corrigit;* so also the *editio princeps*, and early editions generally; changed by Sonntag.

These words seem clearly to refer to Claudius's censorship, as also the preceding ones may. (Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 16.) Pliny (*Ep.* v. 9, Teub.) quotes a similar expression in popular criticism of a new praetor who was overstrict: *Invenimus qui curva corrigeret. quid? ante hunc praetores non fuerunt? quis autem hic est, qui emendet publicos mores?* Bücheler cites also one of the so-called *sortes Praenestinae* (*C.I.L.* I. 1438): *conrigi vix tandem quod curvom est factum [c]rede.*

quid in cubiculo suo faciat, nescit: The MS. reading, *nescio*, is intelligible, but Bücheler's *nescit* is so slight a change and so much better that a principle may perhaps be sacrificed to it.

This is a difficult passage, in view of what it involves. Most easily it would seem, as Schusler takes it to be, an allusion to the fact that Claudius's own marriage with Agrippina was by no means according to the canons. Recall Suetonius's illustration of Claudius's *inconsiderantia* (id. *Cl.* 39): *ducturus contra fas Agrippinam uxorem, non cessavit omni oratione filiam et alumnam et in gremio suo natam atque educatam praedicere.* But such an allusion would hit her almost as much as it would Claudius, and with her still in power Seneca would be very unlikely to make it.

Schenkl, with the MS. reading, *nescio*, took the words as a reference to Claudius's suspected relations with Julia, his niece (Dio, lx. 8), who was driven into exile by the jealousy of Messalina. Cortius thought that the sentence might refer to Claudius's body, still lying dead in the *cubiculum.* It is best,

perhaps, unless *faciat* be actually emended to *fiat*, to take the words in a very general sense, referring to the debaucheries which he unconsciously encouraged. Recall his command to Mnester to do whatever the empress Messalina wanted him to (Dio, lx. 22), and his signing the *tabellas dotis* for her mock marriage with C. Silius (Suet. *Cl.* 29). Cf. Dio, lx. 28: ἐλυποῦντο μὲν ὅτι μόνος [Claudius] οὐκ ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δρώμενα. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 13: *Claudius matrimonii sui ignarus*, etc.

caeli scrutatur plagas: Bücheler puts here an interrogation point; the antithesis does not need it. Cf. Cic. *de Rep.* i. 18, 30, where is quoted the verse, with two others, from Ennius's *Iphigenia* (Trag. Frag. 277):

Quod est ante pedes nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas.

It had become proverbial; see also Cic. *de Div.* ii. 13, 30. Cf. Varro. *Menipp.* 233 (Büch. ed.), *oculis caeli rimari plagas.*

templum in Britannia: Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 31: *templum divo Claudio constitutum* [*in Camuloduno*] *quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur*, etc. This was in the revolt of Boudicca. Cf. Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.* 762, 3:

Oceanusque tuas ultra se respicit aras.

μωροῦ εὐϋλάτου τυχεῖν: another parody; on wishes that a *god* might be propitious, cf. μωροῦ πληγήν, c. 7. Another kind of variation is seen in Petron. 62: *genios vestros iratos* (*i.e.* instead of *propitios*) *habeam.*

9. privatis intra curiam morantibus, etc.: apparently an allusion to a rule of the Roman senate. The MS. reading, *morantibus sententiam dicere nec disputare*, though perhaps intelligible, taking these infinitives as subjects of *venit*, is far from satisfactory. Gronovius, followed by Sonntag, emended to *sententias dici indignum putare*, which is tautological, after *venit in mentem*. Haupt suggested *sententiam dicere nefas putari*. Haase's text has *non licere* inserted after

dicere. Bücheler (ed. 1864) adopted the same addition, but put the words after *morantibus*. In his *editio minor* he added *senatoribus*, making *senatoribus non licere sententiam dicere nec disputare*. I have preferred the reading of Haase. *Senatoribus* is quite unnecessary, and the supposable loss of the *non licere* from the manuscript in copying would be much more easily accounted for after *dicere*, a word of similar ending.

interrogare: probably to interview Hercules informally in regard to the newcomer.

mera mapalia: mere stuff and nonsense. The glosses on the word *mapalia* give καλύβη ἄφρων, *casae pastorum*, etc. According to Festus, *mapalia casae Punicae appellantur in quibus quia nihil est secreti, solet solute viventibus obici id vocabulum*. Cf. the "bug-house" of modern thieves' slang, perhaps a partial parallel. The slangy application of the word, to which Festus refers, seems to have extended to anything trivial. Cf. Petron. 58, *aut numera mapalia*, or *autem mera mapalia*, or according to a reading of Heraeus, *at nunc mera mapalia: nemo dupundii evadit*. Ruhkopf, referring to the rude character of these huts of the nomad Africans, compares the proverb, *ex civitate rus fecistis; i.e.* you have thrown the senate into disorder.

Lipsius parodies the passage thus (*Somnium*, 17): *Servemus disciplinam curiae, . . . vos mera ovilia fecistis, ita balatis*. On *servetis disciplinam*, cf. also Lucian, Ἐκκλησία θεῶν, *init*. See Introd. p. 76.

hic, qualiscumque est: Jove is impartial, as befits the presiding officer.

quid de nobis existimabit ? He is also sensitive to the reputation of the gods. From one point of view, this question is the key to half the satire.

illo dimisso: Claudius seems to be kept within reach, however, for at the end of the next chapter Augustus addresses him directly. Schusler understands these words as simply referring to a dismissal from the conversation.

primus interrogatur sententiam Ianus pater: partly perhaps in view of his character as god of openings, but conventionally because he was a *consul designatus*. Note also the retained object, *sententiam*, particularly common in this formal idiom, as in, *e.g.*, Sallust, *Cat.* 50, *Silanus primus sententiam rogatus quod eo tempore consul designatus erat*, and elsewhere.

designatus . . . in kal. Iulias postmeridianus consul: This date, July 1, was a customary one for the entering of *consules suffecti* upon their office. We may understand *postmeridianus* of the second half-year, as we say "the afternoon of life," or Seneca, of his old age, *postmeridianas horas* (*Nat. Quaest.* iii. praef. 3). There may be some allusion, as Turnebus suggested, to the business going on at that time of day *ad Ianum* in the Forum. Or the writer may be simply making fun of the ludicrously short appointments to honorary consulships, that were becoming common. Asbach thinks that certain creatures of Claudius are satirized, whose occupations are vaguely hinted in those of Janus and Diespiter; but there seems insufficient reason for supposing that any particular individuals are aimed at. We know from Suet. *Cl.* 46, that Claudius had designated no consuls beyond the month of his death. As Mommsen suggests (*Staatsr.* II. p. 84, n. 5, ed. 3), the author presumably would have forborne to represent in any comic way the consuls of Jan. 1, 55, of whom Nero himself was one and may have already been designated before Seneca's writing. Apart from such prudent avoidance, the satire seems more general, with Janus as an amusing old fellow, living familiarly in the Forum and facing both ways.

homo quantumvis vafer: This is a correction by Rhenanus, sanctioned by all the editors. It is evidently apt, though the reading of the MSS. and of the *editio princeps*, *homo quantum via sua fert*, is by no means hopeless. The demonstrative to correspond with *quantum* is implied in the following clause, so that it could be interpreted thus: "a person who so far as his own way goes, always sees both forward and backward," but who has no provision for outsiders.

ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω: from the *Iliad*, iii. 109, where the words apply to Priam's long life, through which he could look to both past and future; here of course referring to the common two-faced representations of Janus.

quod in foro vivat: This is the reading of the St. G. MS. In Bücheler's *vivebat*, the change of tense is not an improvement, and the change of mood is not necessary. The subjunctive is explainable as in a statement made on the authority of the *notarius*, or perhaps a reason generally understood. The allusion is to the *Arcus Ianus*, or the row, perhaps, of arches on the north side of the Forum, where the money-changers' business was centred.

notarius: The early editors seem to have been especially interested in allusions to the ancient shorthand, *notae Tironianae*, as a lost art not yet replaced. Thus observes Fromond: *ars iam ignota, et inter eas quas barbaries posterioris aevi nobis abstulit*; and he quotes Ausonius's epigram, *ad notarium suum*:

Tu sensa nostri pectoris
Vix dicta iam ceris tenes,
Tu me loquentem praevenis;
Quis, quaeso, quis me prodidit?

The stenographer of Olympus was perhaps less skilful. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 5, 15, on the elder Pliny's habit of keeping his *notarius* always by his side in travelling. Seneca himself is said to have devoted considerable attention to these *notae*, which have sometimes even been called by his name. Cf. his *Ep.* 90, 25, *verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio et celeritatem linguae manus sequitur. Vilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt.* The business of the *notarius* appears to have been well-defined, and the term occurs in sepulchral inscriptions. See *e.g. C.I.L.* II. 3119; III. 1938; VI. 9704, 9705. Cf. Pauly, *Realencyclopädie*, V. *s.v. notae* and *notarius*; Schmitz, *Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum* (Lips. 1893).

ne aliis verbis ponam: Recall the writer's assurance of accuracy, in c. 1.

olim, inquit, magna res erat deum fieri: Cf. Petron. 17: *Nostra regio tam praesentibus plena est numinibus, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire.*

iam famam mimum fecisti: the reading of the St. G. MS. Bücheler, with several other editors, gives *fecistis*: the *ed. prin.*, *fama minimum fecit*. Rhenanus proposed reading *mimum*, and Orelli, Schusler, and Haase have *fama* (or *Fama*) *mimum fecisti*. I suggest, as another possibility, *famam imam fecisti*. As the text stands, the sense seems clear, recalling Ter. *Eun.* 300, *Ludum iocumque dicet fuisse illum alterum*. Cf. the biblical, "a byword and a hissing." The two words, *fama* and *mimus*, occur together in Hor. *S.* i. 2, 58–59:

> *Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus, unde*
> *Fama malum gravius quam res trahit.*

Cf. Suet. *Cal.* 45, where the sham triumph of Caligula is alluded to as a *mime*.

Were there any MS. authority for it, a plausible reading would be *fabam mimum*, for which Bücheler and Otto cite Cic. *ad Att.* i. 16: *Videsne consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio antea* ἀποθέωσιν *vocabat, si hic factus erit, fabam mimum futurum?* Here the "Bean mime" would seem to be a title. Cf. Petron. 35, *de Laserpiciario mimo*. Note in this connection the proverb quoted by Festus *s.v. tam* (p. 363, ed. M.): *tam perit quam extrema faba, in proverbio est, quod ea plerumque aut proteritur aut decerpitur a praetereuntibus*. Being a god, then, according to this allusion would apparently be a kind of last resort; no longer *magna res*. Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 810, *Pueri clamitant in faba se reperisse;* also, perhaps, Petron. 67, *ut tibi emerem fabam vitream*. Such a reading for the present passage, however, remains a mere conjecture.

The singular, *fecisti*, indicates that Janus for the moment is

addressing an individual, perhaps Hercules. *Ne videar in personam*, etc., implies that he has been dealing in some personalities.

The *ed. prin.* gives after *fecit* the added clause, *et iam pestiferum* (*pessimum*, Erasmi I.) *quemque illum adfectare*, which is of doubtful syntax, and absent from the manuscripts.

censeo: as in the Roman senate it was customary to end a speech with the proposal of a formal resolution. Similarly the speeches of Diespiter (*infr.*) and of Augustus (c. 11).

ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν: from the *Iliad*, vi. 142; restored by Rhenanus from MS.

aut ex his quos alit ζείδωρος ἄρουρα: ζείδωρος is the stock epithet of ἄρουρα in Homer. Cf. *e.g. Il.* viii. 486; *Od.* vii. 332. Also Hes. *Works and Days*, 237 [235]. This clause has been repeatedly condemned as a gloss (by Heinsius, Scheffer, Wachsmuth), and Bücheler brackets it, as a mere duplication of the preceding. But the ponderous repetition appears to be part of the fun. Ruhkopf more rightly judges the words: *Tautologi* [*versus*] *quidem sunt, sed ob id ipsum causidico dignissimi, quippe quem repetitiones et ambages amare constat.*

qui contra hoc senatus consultum, etc.: another conventional feature of the proposed bill, the *sanctio*.

factus, dictus, pictusve: Cf. Pers. vi. 62–63: *Venio deus huc ego ut ille Pingitur*; Plaut. *Asin.* 174: *neque fictum . . . neque pictum neque scriptum.*

Laruis: evil spirits, half ghosts, half furies, supposed to be the souls of wicked dead not allowed to rest in the other world, and returning to torment evil-doers in this. Cf. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, ix. 11. In popular speech they served as do our "hobgoblins" and "the bogie-man." Possibly to the point also here is the special fact that they were supposed to cause insanity, which might be considered a logical part of Claudius's destiny. Cf. Festus (Pauli *Exc.*, p. 119, ed. M.), *Larvati, furiosi et mente moti quasi larvis exterriti.* Bücheler compares Julian's *Caesares*, 5, where: αὐτὸν [Caligulam] δίδωσιν ἡ Δίκη ταῖς

Ποιναῖς, αἱ δὲ ἔρριψαν εἰς Τάρταρον. Mähly, however, suggests the reading *lanistis* for *larvis*, in view of the following.

auctoratos: as defined by Acro, *ad Hor. S.* ii. 7, 59: *qui se vendunt ludo* [sc. *gladiatorio*] *auctorati vocantur; auctoratio enim dicitur venditio gladiatorum.* Similarly in the *Gloss. Lat. Graec.*, αὐθαίρετος, εἰς δοῦλον ἑαυτὸν βάλλων καὶ μονομάχος. Cf. Petron. 117: *sacramentum iuravimus . . . tanquam legitimi gladiatores.*

vapulare: in the *sermo vulgaris*, to "get a licking"; one of the features of the training of gladiators for the ring, especially the raw recruits, *novos auctoratos*. Claudius was noted for the facility with which he condemned men to this life (cf. Dio, lx. 13; Suet. *Cl.* 21, 34), although he at first restricted the gladiatorial games (Dio, lx. 5).

Diespiter, Vicae Potae filius: Clearly this is not the Jupiter who has just figured as the presiding officer, the cosmopolitan Zeus to whom poets gave the name *Diespiter* as god of the sky. He must be recognized rather as the old Italian Jupiter, god of the daylight (see Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, pp. 218 and 609; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus der Römer*, p. 100, Müller's *Handb.* V. 4), traces of whose worship appear in the rites of the *Fetiales*. These the antiquarian Claudius had just revived (Suet. *Cl.* 25), which may have helped Diespiter to think so well of him. Schenkl cites Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* i. (*de Falsa Religione*), 14, where *Pluton Latine est Dispiter*, and Cicero, *N. D.* ii. 26, 66, where Dis or Πλούτων is apparently identified with the wealth-god Plutus, *quia et recidunt omnia* [i.e. *divitiae*] *in terras et oriuntur e terris.* Cf. Varro, *LL*, v. 66. Plutus, according to Phaedrus, iv. 12, 5, was son of Fortuna, which would not be difficult to reconcile with the statement here, *Vicae Potae filius*. The whole matter is involved in confusion. Perhaps it was so even to Seneca, who may have held a reminiscence of some of these associations in view of Diespiter's financial dealings. Several of the early editions read *Nicae Potae*; the *ed. prin.*, *Diespiter in nepote filius*. Vica Pota had a temple *infra Veliam* (Liv. ii. 7), and her

name is a derivative of *vincendi atque potiundi* (Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 11, 28), so that she was a sort of Victory goddess. The latter part of the name may possibly here be a hit upon money-getting. But it is safest to leave the reference to the primitive Italian divinity, one of those whose quaintness of aspect to the Romans of Seneca's time specially suggested them for such presentation as this. There is an added oddity in the thought of the strict old *Deus Fidius*, by whom men took oath, here sharing in such a log-rolling bit of politics with Hercules.

nummulariolus: *Nummularius* is a word of a common vulgar formation, frequent in inscriptions. Cf. *e.g.* its use in Petron. 56. The diminutive formed from it is doubly a plebeianism.

vendere civitatulas solebat: Here, again, the diminutive is evidently for comic effect. This is a plain gibe at the venality of public preferments in Claudius's day; and the preceding statement, *hoc quaestu* (i.e. *nummularii*) *se sustinebat*, sounds indeed more as if the writer had some particular person in mind. Cf. Dio, lx. 17: ἡ δ' οὖν Μεσσαλίνα οἵ τε ἀπελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ οὕτως οὐ τὴν πολιτείαν μόνον, οὐδὲ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπιτροπείας τάς τε ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἀφειδῶς ἐπώλουν καὶ ἐκαπήλευον, κτἑ.

auriculam illi tetigit: as we should say, "gave him the wink." But this is somewhat more. Touching the ear was the common sign for engaging a witness to appear in a trial, on the theory, as Pliny says (*N.H.* xi. 45, 103, 251), that *est in aure ima memoriae sedes, quam tangentes, antestamur*. Cf. Hor. *S.* i. 9, 77; Plaut. *Pers.* 748. Here the act has the more general sense of admonition, as in Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 3–4, *Cynthius aurem Vellit et admonuit*. Diespiter was asked to be not witness, but advocate, of Claudius, who was a fellow-tradesman in citizenships. The diminutive, *auriculam*, is quite classical, but the series of three, *nummulariolus*, *civitatulas*, and this, in quick succession, has a somewhat noticeable effect upon the characterization.

cum divus Claudius: There is little significance in the apparent flattery of *divus*, for Augustus uses it, though with possible irony, in the two following chapters. *Divus Claudius* was the legal name of him now, since the Senate had decreed it.

Augustum sanguine contingat nec minus divam Augustam: the latter even more, in fact. Claudius's father, Nero Claudius Drusus, was the own son of diva Augusta (Livia) by her first marriage, and therefore only the stepson of Augustus (but cf. Suet. *Cl.* 1). Claudius was related by blood to Augustus through his mother, Antonia Minor, who was the daughter of Octavia, Augustus's sister.

quam ipse deam esse iussit: Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 11: *aviae Liviae divinos honores*, etc. Cf. also Dio, lx. 5. The nature of Livia's regard for her grandson is indicated by Suet. *Cl.* 3.

longe omnes mortales sapientia antecellat: This pleasantly recalls the funeral oration delivered by Nero (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 3); cf. also *cordatus homo*, in the dirge, c. 12. On Claudius's learning, see Introd. pp. 10, 13.

e re publica: The senatorial formality of this phrase (for the customary use of which in *senatus consulta* cf. *e.g.* Liv. xxiii. 24) and of *ex hac die*, in the next sentence, is obviously contrasted with the sufficiently novel introduction of boiling-hot turnips and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid.

cum Romulo . . . ferventia rapa vorare: not, as Turnebus observes (*Adv.* ii. 112, 1), ambrosia and nectar. According to tradition, Romulus lived in heaven in the rustic manner of his time on earth; Ennius's familiar line (*Annal.* 119, ed. Vahlen) is—

> *Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aevom*
> *Degit.*

Cf. Mart. xiii. 16:

> *Haec tibi brumali gaudentia frigore rapa*
> *Quae damus, in caelo Romulus esse solet.*

It is a broad hint, too, at Claudius's voracity. Cf. Suet. 32–33. The source of the quotation, which is the ending of a hexameter verse, is unknown.

ita uti ante eum quis optimo iure factus sit: *Quis* is the MS. reading. Bücheler, in his later edition, changes it to *qui*, as the relative is used in this kind of clause in Cic. *Philipp.* ix. 7; xi. 12; *C.I.L.* I. 200; and (probably) Festus, p. 187. It is not essential, however, to suppose that Seneca in the satire always used such expressions with formulaic uniformity. (Cf. εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρωμεν, c. 13.) The *ante eum* suggests the fitness of the indefinite, and the conditional implication justifies the use of *quis* in this sense. Bücheler calls attention to the change of structure after *censeo*, from *uti* with the subjunctive to the accusative and infinitive in *rem . . . adiciendam*, and cites a parallel from the early Latin of the *SC de Bacchanalibus*: *. . . eeis rem caputalem faciendam censuere . . . atque utei hoce in tabolam ahenam inceideretis ita senatus aiquom censuit*, etc. (*C.I.L.* I. 196, ll. 25–27; also X. 104). Cf. a similar change after *sinere* in Plaut. *Most.* 11–12:

Sine modo adveniat senex:
Sine modo venire salvom.

ad Metamorphosis Ovidi: where Romulus's and Caesar's apotheoses were already included: *Met.* xiv. 815; xv. 745.

videbatur . . . sententiam vincere: Bücheler (ed. min.) brackets *sententiam*, unnecessarily, it seems, since it may be explained, like *causam* in *causam vincere*, as an analogue of the cognate accusative. In his edition of 1864 he suggests the emendation, *sane iam*. B. Schmidt proposes *sensim iam* (Jahrb. f. Class. Phil. 93, 551 *seq.*).

ferrum suum in igne esse: a close parallel to our "Strike while the iron is hot."

manus manum lavat: The same proverb is in Petron. 45. Of similar import, *ibid.* 44: *Serva me, servabo te.* Otto compares Epicharmus, quoted in Plat. *Axioch.* 366C, and *Apost.*

i. 36: ἃ δὲ χεὶρ τὰν χεῖρα νίζει. Another Greek form of the proverb was χεὶρ χεῖρα νίπτει δάκτυλός τε δάκτυλον.

10. tunc divus Augustus: Recall Augustus's early opinions of his grandnephew in the letters to Livia, already quoted, Suet. *Cl.* 4.

surrexit: instead of merely assenting to a previously expressed opinion, which could be done without rising. Cf. an instance in Livy, xxvii. 34: *causa . . . eum . . . stantem coegit in senatu sententiam dicere.*

sententiae suae loco dicendae: so the St. G. and Val. MSS. The Wolfenbüttel text reads, *suo loco. Sententiae dicendae* may be taken, as by Bücheler, for a dative of purpose, a usage common with *esse* or after nouns, and seen frequently in inscriptions. In this text, however, it can easily be regarded as a genitive. Cf. Ter. *Heaut. Tim.* 218: *cognoscendi et ignoscendi dabitur peccati locus.* On this use of *loco*, cf. Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 18, 40: *ut loco dicat, id est, rogatus.*

summa facundia disseruit: Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 84: *Eloquentiam, studiaque liberalia, ab aetate prima, et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. . . . neque in senatu neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam, nisi meditata et composita oratione: quamvis non deficeretur ad subita extemporali facultate.* Cf. *ibid.* 86; also Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 3: *Augusto prompta ac profluens quaequae deceret principem eloquentia fuit.*

ex quo: Cf. c. 1.

nullum me verbum fecisse: suggesting the natural modesty of a new-made senator and the custom requiring him to defer his maiden speech. *Pedarius* was the term applied in the Roman senate to those who only voted without rising to speak. On Augustus's extreme care in the use of language, see Suet. *Aug.* 84 *seq.* His diplomatic reserve was notorious.

et non possum: This is the reading of the St. G. MS., and is used by Fickert and Haase. Bücheler gives *set* (ed. 1864) and *sed* (ed. min.), the latter being the reading of the first edition and most of the others. *Sed* is the more apparently

appropriate conjunction, but if *semper meum negotium ago* be taken as merely a logical subordinate of *ex quo . . . nullum me verbum fecisse*, the passage becomes naturally, "I have been silent so long and can remain so no longer."

dolorem quem graviorem pudor facit: The question in the letters to Livia (Suet. *Cl.* 4) appears to have been chiefly one of family pride, and the desire to keep Claudius out of a prominence in which he would be ridiculous.

in hoc . . . ornavi: the usual summary of Augustus's principal achievements.

terra marique pacem peperi: Cf. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, c. 13 (Mommsen, 1883); also in *C.I.L.* III. p. 788 *seq.*: *Ianum . . . cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax . . . ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit.* In similar connection, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 22, *terra marique pace parta*; also Livy, i. 19, and Sen. *de Clemen.* i. 9.

civilia bella compescui: In the *Res Gestae* he is more explicit. *Ib.* c. 1: *Rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi.*

legibus urbem fundavi: practically a quotation from Verg. *Aen.* vi. 810, the prophecy in regard to Numa, *primam qui legibus urbem Fundabit.* On Augustus's success in checking lawlessness and strengthening the empire, cf. *Res Gestae*, c. 25 *seq.* (Momms.), Tab. V. Also in Tab. VI. c. 34: *In consulatu sexto et septimo, bella ubi civilia exstinxeram per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli.* Also in c. 35: *Senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae.* Cf. likewise Suet. *Aug.* 31, 32 *seq.*; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28; and Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 3.

operibus ornavi: Cf. *Res Gestae*, 19–24 (Tab. IV), for an account of his building operations; also Suet. *Aug.* 29, and 28, where occurs his famous boast: *marmoream se relinquere urbem quam lateritiam accepisset.*

ut: aposiopesis.

Messalae Corvini . . . sententiam, pudet imperii: This appeal to M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (Dessau, *Prosop.* V. 90) seems somewhat satirically pathetic. For though the famous orator (Cf. Quintil. x. 1, and Suet. *Tib.* 70) had been a colleague of Augustus in the consulship (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 34), and had been the chosen representative of the senate in hailing Augustus *Pater Patriae* (Suet. *Aug.* 58), the words here quoted seem to belong to a reminiscence that must have been far less pleasing to the emperor. In 25 B.C. Messala, having been appointed the first prefect of the city, resigned, as Tacitus says (*Ann.* vi. 11), within a few days, *quasi nescius exercendi.* According to Suetonius, quoted by St. Jerome in his *Chronica* (Suet., ed. Teub., p. 289), *Messala Corvinus primus praefectus urbis factus sexto die magistratu se abdicavit, incivilem potestatem esse contestans*, which, though privately said and indirectly reaching Augustus's ears, must have been an irritating rebuff to his policy. The words, *pudet imperii*, however, are not exact as applied to the authority of a *praefectus urbis*, and are not elsewhere quoted. Corvinus may possibly have used merely a word analogous to *imperii*.

This is the reading of the St. G. MS. The others generally (Cod. Val., *p̃cidet imperii*) give *praecidit ius imperii* (and so the *editio princeps*), which would have a quite different connection, perhaps with Messala's disgust at Antony's dallying in Egypt. Wehle suggests *pertaedet imperii*, a sort of compromise for which there is no particular necessity.

The incident recalls Claudius's attempt to relinquish his authority, from a motive quite different; cf. Suet. *Cl.* 36.

non posse videtur muscam excitare: The fly still serves as the type of the small and unimportant; cf. Petron. 42: *minoris quam muscae sumus.*

tam facile homines occidebat: Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 29: *in XXXV senatores*, etc. . . . *tanta facilitate animadvertit ut*, etc.

quam canis adsidit: so the St. G. MS. The commoner

reading, from the Cod. Val. and some of the later MSS., is *quam canis excidit*, which the editors generally accept as explained by Fromond, *canis* to mean the "dog-throw" at dice, with perhaps an allusion to Claudius's gambling propensities. Bücheler multiplies his objections to this reading to the extent of carefully stating that the lowest throw actually does not fall out so frequently as the medium ones do, — which is a quaint neglect of the gambler's psychology. The *editio princeps* reads, *quam canis frustrum* [*sic*] *abscidit*; Gronovius, according to the suggestion of Rhenanus, *quam canis exta edit*.

The reading of the text may refer to the simple facility with which a dog sits down; or perhaps, as Bücheler and Otto suggest, to another frequent canine occasion, which may easily have become proverbial. Among other proverbs for things easy to do, like our "as easy as falling off a log," cf. Plaut. *Most.* 559: *Tam facile vinces quam pirum volpes comest;* Petron. 57: *ingenuum nasci tam facile est quam 'accede istoc.'*

de tot ac talibus viris: *Ed. prin., de tot actibus iuris*; so Ruhkopf.

deflere: *Ed. prin., deplorare.*

etiamsi soror mea Graece nescit, etc.: This passage has been, as Ruhkopf calls it, *crux criticorum*. The reading of the St. G. MS. is, *etiam si sormea Graece nescit ego scio* ENTYCON TONYKNHAIHC *iste quem*, etc. The Cod. Val. reads, *etiam si forme a grece nescit ego scio* ENTYCO-NIKNNAIHC *iste quem*, etc. The other MSS. show slight variations, but no gain in intelligibility. Most of them have, instead of *sormea*, *formea* or *phormea*, which may easily be accounted for by a misunderstanding of a long *s*. In Paris 8717, the word *graece* is lacking.

Many of the editions simply give the traditional reading of the *codices* (with *Phormea*) without attempt to explain. Among the conjectural emendations have been those of: Rhenanus, *Nam τῆς ὀργῆς aegre senescit ἡ νόσος*. Πυργοπο-

λινίκης *iste quem videtis*, etc.; Fromond, a modification of that of Junius, *Nam etiamsi φορμίζειν nescit, ego scio*, ἐντύνων τὸ Καλλίνικε Ἡρακλῆς. *Iste quem*, etc.; Cortius, *Etiamsi Phormio* (sc. *Terentii*) *neces nescit, ego scio:* ἔντοικον κακὸν *nec diis senescit. Iste*, etc.; Bouillet, *Etiamsi forte ea nescit, ego scio* ἓν τυχόντων: *hic in Diis se nescit. Iste*, etc. (so in Develay's translation; cf. Suet. *Cl.* 39, on Claudius's absent-mindedness); Schenkl, *etiamsi* ὁ μωρὸς *ea* [*Graece*] *nescit, ego scio*, ἐνθύμιον τὸ κείνου λίην, the last words being a reminiscence of the Homeric verse (*Od.* xiii. 421) μὴ δή τοι κεῖνός γε λίην ἐνθύμιος ἔστω. But Bücheler's interpretation of the string of Greek letters easily supersedes all these other efforts. The proverb Γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον, which appears several times in the *Paroemiographi Graeci*, in the collections of Zenobius, Diogenianus, Arsenius, Apostolius, and Gregorius Cyprius, is quoted by Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* ix. 8, 2), Athenaeus (ix. 30, 383b), Cicero, in a letter to Tiro (*Ep. ad Fam.* xvi. 23), where however it is only γόνυ κνήμης, with ἔγγιον understood, and others. In Theocritus, xvi. 18, is found the converse of it, ἀπωτέρω ἢ γόνυ κνάμα, while the Plautine *tunica propior palliost* (*Trin.* 1154) is an obvious parallel. The sense of the quotation is plain, after Augustus's allusion to his *domestica mala* just before. The word *Graece*, bracketed by Bücheler, seems best disposed of by the theory that it was a marginal comment of some transcriber upon the Greek quotation, which he did not understand and perhaps omitted; Fromond thought, upon the word φορμίζειν of his reading, transliterated into Latin. The point of the statement, *soror mea nescit*, i.e. not *Greek*, but that one's knee is nearer than one's shin, very likely depends upon some fact unknown to us. Possibly Octavia, who was Claudius's grandmother on the mother's side, had been less pessimistic as to the boy's capabilities than Augustus and Livia.

In most of the editions, after the Greek letters, comes the word *senescit* before *iste quem*, etc. It is not found in the MSS. and seems to be a mere survival, in a senseless dittography,

from Rhenanus's conjectural reading, formed of *-ce* (in *Graece*) and *nescit*.

sub meo nomine latens: as all the emperors took the name of Augustus; but Claudius, in particular, in the oath, *per Augustum* (Suet. *Cl.* 11), made to him his favorite adjuration. Augustus's lack of cordiality to his kinsman recalls oddly the wish expressed for Claudius in the *Consol. ad Polyb.* (xii. 5), *sera . . . dies . . . sit . . . qua illum gens sua caelo adserat.*

duas Iulias: The death of both is recorded in Suet. *Cl.* 29, and both were victims of Messalina. Iulia Livilla (Dessau, *Prosop.* I. 444) was the daughter of Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, and having excited Messalina's jealousy was banished, A.D. 41, on a charge of adultery with Seneca himself. Hence he was banished to Corsica, while she not long after was killed (*fame occisa*) in exile (Dio, lx. 8). The other Iulia (*Prosop.* I. 422) was the daughter of Drusus, Tiberius's son. According to Dio, lx. 18, Messalina, ζηλοτυπήσασα, as in the case of the other one, caused her death (*ferro*), apparently through the agency of P. Suillius (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 43). Cf. Tac. xiii. 32, speaking of Pomponia Graecina's mourning, . . . *post Iuliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae interfectam.*

abnepotem L. Silanum: Cf. c. 8 and c. 11. L. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (Dessau, *Prosop.* I. 559) was the son of M. Iunius Silanus M. f. Torquatus who was consul A.D. 19 (not the same as the M. Iunius Silanus who was Caius's father-in-law), and of Aemilia Lepida, *proneptis Augusti* through her mother Iulia, the daughter of M. Agrippa and of Iulia, daughter of Augustus and Scribonia. (Bücheler, following Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, V. 161–233, makes L. Silanus the son of Appius Silanus; cf. c. 11, note.) L. Silanus was born about A.D. 24 and Octavia was engaged to him A.D. 41. He was in high favor with Claudius, and in 44 A.D., while still a youth, was granted the *ornamenta triumphalia* at the time of the latter's Britannic triumph. When Agrippina wished to secure the marriage of Nero and Octavia, Silanus

was accused of incest by Vitellius, A.D. 48, and he committed suicide on the day of the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina at the beginning of the year 49, ruined, as Dio says, by the charge of conspiracy. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 3, 4, 8; xiii. 1; Dio, lx. 5, 23, 31; Suet. *Cl.* 24, 27, 29. See also Mommsen, in *Eph. Epig.* I. p. 62, and inscriptions there cited, *C.I.L.* XIV. 2500 and *C.I.A.* III. 612 (2).

videris Iuppiter . . . in causa . . . certe . . . tua: This evidently recalls the idea brought out in c. 8, *Iove, quem quantum quidem in illo fuit, damnavit incesti.* It seems almost like an effort, by returning to lay stress upon Jupiter's concern in the matter, to divert attention from the indiscretion of alluding to Silanus's death at all, considering Agrippina's share in it. Seneca could not resist the temptation to mention it, but undertook to conceal the hit as much as possible.

videris . . . an . . . si aecus futurus es: This, the reading of the St. G. text, is evidently bad grammar, but the repetition of the particle is colloquially explained by the insertion of the parenthetical *certe in tua*, after which the speaker begins again with his inquiry. Both this and the use of the indicative *es* in the indirect question are characteristic of the vulgar syntax. Cf. *dic mihi . . . quare . . . damnasti* following.

The *editio princeps* reads, *videris Iuppiter an in tua certe mala venit: si hic inter nos futurus est.* Other editions, variously.

dive Claudi: Cf. c. 9. The irony is comic enough to relieve somewhat the unbroken solemnity of Augustus's bitterness.

antequam de causa cognosceres, etc.: Cf. c. 12, *una tantum parte audita*, etc., and c. 14, similarly. *À propos* of Claudius's capricious unfairness in hearing cases, cf. Suet. *Cl.* 15: *Alius gratias agens, quod reum defendi pateretur, adiecit, 'et tamen fieri solet'; ibid.* 29, on Claudius's hasty condemnations; also Dio, lx. 14–16.

hoc ubi fieri solet?: like an allusion to the advocate's remark just quoted.

11. ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο: *Iliad*, i. 591, where Vulcan himself gives the familiar description of how he fell all day and landed on Lemnos. The *editio princeps* gives instead of the Greek after *crus fregit* the words *et in Lemnon caelo deturbavit, non extinxit*, which in many succeeding editions are inserted after the Greek.

iratus fuit uxori et suspendit illam: *Iliad*, xv. 18, where Zeus recalls the incident unpleasantly to Hera's memory. In the same connection (l. 23), he refers to the casting down of Hephaestos in nearly the same terms as are used above.

Messalinam, cuius aeque avunculus maior eram quam tuus: Valeria Messalina (Dessau, *Prosop.* V. 161), both on her father's and her mother's side, was the great-granddaughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, who was thus her *avunculus maior*. Claudius, however, was the grandson of Octavia, so that Augustus was properly his *avunculus magnus*. He is, however, called *avunculus maior* of Claudius in Suet. *Cl.* 3, and referred to as his *avunculus* by Seneca in the *Consol. ad. Polyb.* 15. See Lexicon for instances of similar confusion of terms.

Messalinam . . . occidisti: Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 37–38. Though Agrippina received the benefit of her death, she "had no hand in her dying," and there is nothing invidious to Seneca's patroness in the allusion; it even tends to justify her for putting Claudius out of the way before he served her in the same manner.

"nescio" inquis: This notorious instance of Claudius's μετεωρία (Suet. *Cl.* 39, where is recorded his question at dinner, *cur domina non veniret*) is thus described in Tac. *Ann.* xi. 38: *nec ille quaesivit, poposcitque poculum et solita convivia celebravit. ne secutis quidem diebus odii gaudii, irae tristitiae, ullius denique humani adfectus signa dedit.* Similar was the time when after the death of Poppaea (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 2), *epulantem apud se maritum eius Scipionem percontaretur, cur sine uxore discubuisset, atque ille functam*

fato responderet. The same thing happened often, according to Suet. *Cl.* 39. Cf. *ibid.* 29: . . . *supplicia largitus est, et quidem insciens plerumque et ignarus*.

turpius est: See Introd. pp. 9 and 13.

C. Caesarem non desiit mortuum persequi: apparently a play upon two meanings of the verb, to *persecute* and to *imitate*. Dio, lx. 3–4, tells how Claudius promptly proceeded to undo the acts of Caligula, so far as possible, and to obliterate his memory. See also Suet. *Cl.* 11, *fin. Gaii . . . acta omnia rescidit*. Here belongs, too, *hic nomen illi reddidit*; after the other sense of *persequi* is *caput tulit*. And the emphasis is decidedly upon Claudius's imitations of his mad predecessor; whom, by way of precedent, the Romans had more than refrained from deifying.

occiderat ille socerum: M. Iunius Silanus C. f. (Dessau, *Prosop.* I. 551), *consul suffectus* A.D. 15, was the father of Iunia Claudilla (or Claudia), who was married to Caligula A.D. 33. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 20; Suet. *Cal.* 12. She died before Caligula came to power; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45. On M. Silanus's importance under Tiberius, cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 59, and iii. 24, and Dio, lix. 8. On his fall, A.D. 38, cf. Dio, *ibid.*; Suet. *Cal.* 23; Tac. *Agr.* 4.

hic et generum: i.e. *socerum* (Appius Silanus, *vid. infra*) *et generum insuper*; in fact, *duos generos*, as Augustus presently states.

Gaius Crassi filium vetuit Magnum vocari: Cf. Suet. *Cal.* 35: *vetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit, Torquato torquem, Cincinnato crinem, Cn. Pompeio stirpis antiquae Magni cognomen*. Cf. also Dio, lx. 5, where Gaius himself is said to have been on the point of killing the young Magnus because of the name. Mommsen (Ephem. *Epig.* I. 66) thinks that the above statement of Suetonius, *Torquato torquem* [*ademit*] refers to the family of the L. Silanus Torquatus here mentioned, so that oddly enough two sons-in-law of Claudius had fared alike in the loss of their *familiarum insignia* as well as in the other respect.

hic nomen illi reddidit: Cf. Dio, lx. 5, *fin.* ὅ γε μὴν Κλαύδιος καὶ ἐκεῖνο αὐτὸ τὸ πρόσρημα ἀπέδωκε, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα προσσυνῴκισε. Here is perhaps a side thrust at Claudius's excessive good nature in the bestowal of titles and dignities generally. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 24.

caput tulit: for the more natural *abstulit*.

in una domo Crassum, Magnum, Scriboniam, etc.: Augustus is repetitious in his charges, even apart from the formal indictment at the end. M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (Dessau, *Prosop.* L. 130) was *consul ordinarius* A.D. 27. What is thought to be his sepulchral inscription has been discovered near the Via Salaria. Cf. *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1885, p. 9; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* No. 954. *M. Licinius* | *M. f. Men.* | *Crassus Frugi* | *pontif. pr. urb.* | *cos. leg.* | *Ti. Claudi Caesaris* | *Aug. Ge⟨r⟩manici* | *in* . . . |. Unfortunately the last line is nearly all gone. On other inscriptions his name appears in the consular date. It is uncertain whether he was a descendant of Crassus the Triumvir, though by an allusion in Tac. *Hist.* i. 15, this is implied. (Cf. Momms. in *Eph. Epig.* I. 145.) Plutarch (*Vit. Galbae*, 23) alludes to him as killed by Nero, an error doubtless originating with a confusion of him and his son of the same name whom Nero did kill (Tac. *Hist.* i. 48).

Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Dessau, *Prosop.* P. 477), son of the foregoing and of Scribonia, is referred to simply as Magnus also in Tac. *Hist.* i. 48, Dio, lx. 21, and Zonaras, xi. 9. The marble *cippus* bearing his epitaph was found in the excavations on the Via Salaria with those of his father and his brother, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, the unfortunate young man adopted by Galba (Tac. *Hist.* i. 14, Plut. *Galb.* 23); cf. *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1885, p. 9, Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* No. 955: *Cn. Pomp⟨eius⟩* | *Crassi f. Men.* | *Magnus* | *pontif. quaest.* | *Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug.* | *Germanici* | *soceri sui* |. Caligula's treatment of his name has already been referred to. He was betrothed to Claudius's elder daughter, Antonia, A.D. 41 (Dio, lx. 5 and 21; Suet. *Cl.* 27), but was put to death in the year 47 on account of Messalina's jealousy; Suet. *Cl.* 29: *item Cn.*

Pompeium maioris filiae virum, et L. Silanum minoris sponsum [*occidit*]. *Ex quibus Pompeius in concubitu dilecti adulescentuli confossus est.* Cf. Zonaras, xi. 9, and Tac. *Hist.* i. 48.

Scribonia (Dessau, *Prosop.* S. 221) was wife and mother of the two preceding. Since the name of Cn. Pompeius Magnus was given to one of the sons of her and Crassus Frugi, it has been inferred that she was a descendant of the original Pompeius Magnus, and a sister of M. Scribonius Libo Drusus.

Tristionias, Assarionem: so the St. G. MS. The Val. text reads, *Tristioniam, Bassioniam, Assarionem.* The *editio princeps* gives *Bassioniam* instead of *Tristionias.* They are persons unknown. Bücheler suggests the possibility of *tris homines assarios*, on the analogy of Petron. 45, *sestertiarius homo*; ibid. 58, *dominus dupunduarius*; ibid. 74, *homo dipundiarius.* This would comport well with the following: *nobiles tamen*, etc. On this latter expression, cf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 14, where Crassus Frugi and Scribonia are expressly mentioned as of noble birth.

Crassus . . . tam fatuum, ut etiam regnare posset: Of his character we have no other knowledge. He had, at least, been consul. Compare the proverb in c. 1, *aut regem aut fatuum*, etc.

Between *posset* and the following *hunc nunc deum* occurs in the *editio princeps* the following passage: *cogitate P. C. quale portentum in numerum deorum se recipi cupiat. Principes pietate et iustitia dii fiunt. Scilicet hic pius et iustus, quoniam Dryudarum* [*sic*] *perfidae gentis Gallicae immanem relligionem, a qua cives submoveram: prorsus exterpavit: ut Romae nuptiarum sacra essent, quibus ipse: cum sibi Agrippina nuberet. XXX Senatoribus: innumeris Eq. Ro. mactatis: principium dedit.* All but the first sentence of this is obviously an interpolation lacking manuscript authority, and crude of its kind. The allusion to the Druids is from Suet. *Cl.* 25: *Dryidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis, et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam, penitus abolevit.* The *XXX senatoribus*, etc., is probably from c. 14 of the Apocolo-

cyntosis itself, and the reference to Agrippina is plainly impossible. The first sentence, however, *quale portentum*, etc., while also lacking in the best manuscripts (St. G., Val., Wolf.), and perhaps, as Schenkl concluded, a gloss from the same hand as the other, is much better in connection with the following, *corpus eius dis iratis natum*, and is included without brackets in the texts of Ruhkopf, Fickert, Schusler, Haase, and other of the critical editors. Its origin presumably is in Claudius's mother's remark of him, *portentum eum hominis*, Suet. *Cl.* 3.

corpus eius dis iratis natum: See Otto, *Sprichwörter*. Cf. Phaedr. iv. 20, 15: *dis est iratis natus qui est similis tibi.* Similarly, Plaut. *Most.* 563: *natus dis inimicis omnibus*. Cf. also id. *Mil. Glor.* 314; Hor. *S.* ii. 3, 7; Pers. iv. 27; Juv. x. 129.

ad summam: "in short." The phrase in this sense is common in parts of Petronius's dialogue, *e.g.* 2, 37, 38, 57, 58, 76–78. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 106; Cic. *Ep. ad Attic.* vii. 7, 7; x. 4, 11. In Suet. *Aug.* 71, Augustus himself uses the word in the more precise sense of the final total.

tria verba cito dicat: a challenge to Claudius's stammering tongue. See Introd. p. 6. Cf. in Sen. *Ep.* 40, 9, a remark of Geminus Varius about P. Vinicius, whose manner of speaking was said to be *tractim, tria verba non potest iungere*. The expression, "three words," was proverbial. See Otto, and compare also, *e.g.*, Plaut. *Trinum.* 963, *te tribus verbis volo*; Lipsius's *Somnium*, 6, *tria verba latine scribe*. Stahr finds here a hint of a legal expression like the formula, *hic meus est*, with which a master claimed a runaway slave as his property.

et servum me ducat: "and he can have me."

hunc deum quis colet ? Augustus apparently has overlooked the circumstance mentioned at the end of c. 8, *parum est quod*, etc.

nemo vos deos esse credet: Cf. c. 9, *quid de nobis existimabit ?*

summa rei: an exceptional ellipsis; cf. *ad summam*.

si honeste me inter vos gessi: *me* is not in the MS., but a conjecture of Haase.

clarius: so the St. G. MS. Val. gives *clarus*. Several of the later MSS. and the *editio princeps* give *durus*. The change is easily made. Rhenanus and most of the editors give *durius*. Wehle conjectures *acrius*, but admits that *clarius* may refer to Augustus's well-known reserve of speech. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 84: *pronuntiebat dulci et proprio quodam oris sono*. Apart from this implication, cf. Suet. *Cal.* 22: *cum Capitolino Iove secreto fabulabatur* [*Caligula*], *modo insusurrans . . . modo clarius nec sine iurgiis; id. Vitell.* 14: . . . *clare maledixerunt*. Here the apparent change of sense is due of course to an accidental association.

ex tabella recitavit: as Augustus was noted for trusting himself little to extemporary speech in important matters; Suet. *Aug.* 84. Cf. A. Gellius, vii. 19, *Gracchus . . . decretum ex tabella recitavit*. The use of manuscript in rendering the formal *sententiae* of senatorial debates in Rome appears to have been a matter of personal preference. Decisions in trials, however, were regularly rendered in written form. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 15, where half the joke in one of Claudius's ridiculous judgments was that it was read *ex tabella*.

divus Claudius: Cf. the same in c. 9. Bücheler suggests that the present instance may be a copyist's blunder for *Ti Claudius*.

socerum suum, Appium Silanum: C. Appius Iunius Silanus (cf. Dessau, *Prosop.* I. 541), according to the *Fasti*, was *consul ordinarius* A.D. 28; *maiestatis accusatus* A.D. 32, *sed absolutus*. Claudius treated him with high honor and married him to Messalina's mother (Dio, lx. 14). In 42, Messalina, whom he had angered, joined the freedman Narcissus in a plot against him. They both reported to Claudius that they had dreamed of his murder by Appius, and the emperor in fright immediately consented to the death of the latter. Cf. also Suet. *Cl.* 29 and 37; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 29.

Appius, though here called *socer*, was strictly, so to say, Claudius's step-father-in-law. In Suet. *Cl.* 29, he is called *consocer*, but not correctly so, though he would be if, as stated

by Ruhkopf and Bücheler, he instead of Marcus was the father of Lucius Silanus, on whom see note, c. 10.

generos duos Magnum Pompeium et L. Silanum: Cf. Dio, lx. 5: *τὰς γοῦν θυγατέρας . . . τὴν μὲν ἐγγυήσας Λουκίῳ Ἰουνίῳ Σιλανῷ, τὴν δὲ ἐκδοὺς Γναίῳ Πομπηΐῳ Μάγνῳ*. Similarly, Suet. *Cl.* 29, already cited. In Dio, lx. 21, both Magnus and Silanus are called *γαμβροί*, though to Silanus Octavia was only affianced. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 344, where the usage is the same; also Hor. *Epod.* vi. 13.

Crassum Frugi hominem: Many of the early editions have *Crassum, frugi hominem*; it was, however, printed as a cognomen in the *editio princeps*. There may possibly be, as Fromond says, an intended play upon the word in both senses.

tam similem sibi quam ovo ovum: See Otto. Cf. Cic. *Acad.* pr. ii. 17, 54: *ut sibi sint et ova ovorum et apes apium simillimae; ibid.* 18, 57: *Videsne ut in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo?* So also Quintil. v. 11, 30: *ut illud: non ovum tam simile ovo*. Erasmus discusses the proverb in his *Adag.* 1410. In a similar sense are quoted the Plautine, *neque lac lactis magis est simile* and *ex uno puteo similior nunquam aqua aquae*, and the Greek, *σύκῳ σῦκον οὐδὲ ἓν οὕτως ὅμοιον*, etc. The resemblance of Crassus to Claudius was doubtless in the qualification mentioned above, *tam fatuum*, etc.

nec illi rerum iudicandarum vacationem dari: This and the following clauses specifically explain the first, *in eum severe animadverti*.

Schusler says: *Eadem fortasse ratione h. l., qua apud Nep. Att. 7 et Cic. Coel. 2, explicandum esse censeo; uti enim ibi aetatis et adolescentiae vacatio est liberatio, quae aetatis et adolescentiae causa obtinetur, sic h. l. rerum iudicandarum vacatio est liberatio rerum iudicandarum gratia, qua alicui reo facultas datur se defendendi. Hanc igitur Claudio negari placet Augusto, iure, quum eadem ratione ille quam plurimos damnavisset.* Bücheler takes the same direction, saying that the genitive does not mean, as in *militiae vacationem*, the ob-

ject from which freedom is sought, but simply a general relation to the substantive by which it stands, as in the instances cited by Schusler. All this seems to me unnecessary and far-fetched. *Rerum iudicandarum* may very well be taken as the objective genitive common with *vacatio*. Here is the first of a series of proposals of poetic justice (cf. c. 12, *nenia*, l. 20 *seq.*), others appearing in cc. 14 and 15. Claudius in his lifetime had persisted in conducting trials very badly; now for all eternity he is to be condemned to weary himself unceasingly with the same employment. That the penalty would have been an awkward one to carry out does not matter. Nobody waited to see the joke applied. The whole thing seems obvious. Cf. also Cic. *N.D.* i. 20, 53: *beatam vitam . . . et in omnium vacatione munerum ponimus*.

exportari et . . . excedere: Note the *et*, making the explanatory clause apparently coördinate with the preceding. Cf. *animadverti nec . . . dari*.

caelo intra triginta dies . . . Olympo intra diem tertium: *Olympus* corresponding to the city, *caelo* to Italy, in the case of a Roman banishment. According to the theory of the ten celestial spheres, of which Olympus (*regio fixarum*) was the first, this would very properly require, as Fromond observes, one-tenth of the time to pass.

pedibus in hanc sententiam itum est: cf. Livy, xxvii. 34: [*M. Livius*] *aut verbo adsentiebatur aut pedibus in sententiam ibat*. Here the celestial senators, seeing no further need of individual expression, simply came over to the side of the last speaker, as in a "division," *discessio*.

nec mora: like *haud mora*, an expression frequent in the poets. Cf. also, *e.g.*, Petron. 49, *fin.*

Cyllenius: from his birthplace on Mount Cyllene, Mercury, ψυχοπομπός.

collo obtorto: as we might say, "seized him by the collar." Cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 790: *obtorto collo ad praetorem trahor*; similarly, Cic. *Ver. Act.* II. iv. 10, *obtorta gula*, etc.; phrases common in connection with the leading away of the condemned.

trahit ad inferos [a caelo], etc.: The MSS. as well as the first edition have *ad inferos a caelo unde negant*, etc., which is evidently wrong. The verse in Catullus begins with *illuc unde*, and the first word was inserted in this text by Muretus and has since been generally given. Each of the two phrases, *ad inferos* and *a caelo*, has been rejected as a gloss. Bücheler and Wehle bracket *ad inferos*, leaving *a caelo illuc unde*, etc. Guasco, Ruhkopf, Fickert, Schusler, Haase, and others omit *a caelo* and give *ad inferos, illuc unde*, etc. Quite the simplest way of dealing with the text, however, is to leave the line from Catullus incomplete, as it is in the MSS. (since there is really no reason for assuming that Seneca had to quote the whole), and regard *a caelo* as the gloss, unless indeed we prefer to suppose that the two phrases have accidentally exchanged position, and originally read: *trahit a caelo ad inferos, unde*, etc.

unde negant redire quemquam: from Catullus, iii. 12. Cf. in an epigram to Priapus, Meyer, *Anth. Lat.* 1704, 11: *Unde fata negant redire quemquam;* as in Hamlet's soliloquy (*Ham.* Act iii. Sc. 1):

> "The undiscovered country, from whose bourn
> No traveller returns."

Cf. also Anacreon, lvi. fin., εἰς ἑαυτόν:

> Ἀΐδεω γάρ ἐστι δεινὸς
> Μυχὸς, ἀργαλέη δ' ἐς αὐτὸν
> Κάθοδος· καὶ γὰρ ἕτοιμον
> Καταβάντι μὴ ἀναβῆναι.

12. descendunt per viam Sacram: distinctively the street of processions. As to the direction, there may be a reminiscence of the allusion in c. 1 to the *via Appia*, which was a continuation of the same way. Mercury and Claudius were going toward the spot indicated in the next chapter, *inter Tiberim et viam Tectam*.

quid sibi velit . . . num . . . esset: Note the colloquial confusion of tense in the indirect questions after the historical present.

impensa cura, plane ut scires deum efferri: The irony of this juxtaposition needs no comment. On the elaborateness of Claudius's funeral, cf. Suet. *Nero*, 9: *Orsus Nero hinc a pietatis ostentatione, Claudium, apparatissimo funere elatum, laudavit et consecravit*; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69: *caelestesque honores Claudio decernuntur et funeris sollemne perinde ac divo Augusto celebratur, aemulante Agrippina proaviae Liviae magnificentiam.* Herodianus (iv. 2) gives an extended account of the ceremonies of an imperial deification of the time of Septimius Severus, the resemblance of which to that of Claudius may roughly be assumed. The reading of the *editio princeps* here is *impensa cura plenum*, etc.

tubicinum: The reading of the St. G. text is evidently preferable to the *tibicinum* of the other MSS. and the *editio princeps*, from the generalization which immediately follows, *omnis generis aenatorum.*

aenatorum: The MSS. have for this word *senatorum*; Rhenanus's conjecture of *aeneatorum* is a very evident improvement. The *sonatorum* of the *editio princeps* is simply an ill-advised effort in the same direction. Properly, according to the definition of *aenatores* in Festus (ed. Müller, p. 20, Pauli Ex.), *cornicines dicuntur, id est cornu canentes*, but here, in general, players upon all sorts of brass instruments; variously explained in the glossaries as *cornicines*, *liticines*, *tubicines*, κυμβαλοκροῦσται, etc. They were military musicians; cf. the use of the word in Suet. *Caes.* 32 and Sen. *Ep.* 84, 10. Cf. P. Cauer in *Eph. Epig.* IV. 374, *De Muneribus Militaribus.* On the *collegium aeneatorum*, see Mommsen, *Staatsr.* (3d ed.), III. p. 288. Cf. *e.g. C.I.L.* X. 5173 and 5415.

tantus concentus: *ed. prin.*, *conventus*, and so in various editions.

ambulabat tanquam liber: Cf. c. 1: *ego scio me liberum factum.*

Agatho: apparently one of the *causidici;* otherwise unknown. The name is that of an *unctuarius* in Petron. 74, and appears frequently in inscriptions. It is the title of one of Varro's *Menippeae*, the fragments of which are insufficient to give much idea of its character. Frag. 13 (ed. Bücheler) reads, *quid multa? factus sum vespertilio, neque in muribus plane neque in volucribus sum*, which, in view of such a phrase as *advocati nocturni* of Petron. 15, suggests the possibility that Varro's satire may be related to the same subject, the *causidici*, and its title, *Agatho*, stands as the type of the class.

et pauci causidici plorabant: They had had their day. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 15: *illud quoque a maioribus natu audiebam, adeo causidicos patientia eius solitos abuti, ut descendentem e tribunali non solum voce revocarent, sed et, lacinia togae retenta, interdum pede apprehenso, detinerent.* Tac. *Ann.* xi. 5: *nam cuncta legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens princeps materiam praedandi patefecerat.*

But Claudius's special claim to the regard of the *causidici* was his abrogation of the *Lex Cincia, qua cavetur antiquitus ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat.* After listening to the arguments of the professional advocates, *ut minus decora haec, ita haud frustra dicta princeps ratus, capiendis pecuniis statuit modum iisque ad dena sestertia, quem egressi repetundarum tenerentur* (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 5–7). The business of the *causidici*, though looked down upon (cf. Columella, *R.R.* praef. lib. i., *sine ludicris artibus atque etiam causidicis olim satis felices fuere*, etc.), was notoriously lucrative; cf. Petron. 46; Juv. i. 32. The present grief of the shysters was well founded, for under Nero the old law was soon revived (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 5).

Compare in Hor. *S.* i. 2 (*init.*) the similar mourning of other classes, quite as disreputable, upon the death of a benefactor; *ib.* ll. 3–4:

hoc genus omne
Maestum et sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli.

Rather oddly, Gellius, xii. 2, quoting various opinions upon

Seneca's own style, speaks of his *res et sententiae* as characterized by a *causidicali argutia* (ed. Hertz, 1885).

sed: The adversative is to the *pauci*; they made up in sincerity what they lacked in numbers.

iurisconsulti: legal advisers, who appear not to have been in great request under the caprices of Claudius's administration. Their profession and that of the *advocatus* were more distinct than with us are those of the attorney and barrister.

e tenebris: Cf. Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 57–59:

> *Iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque*
> *Priscus et neglecta redire Virtus*
> *Audet.*

tum maxime: This is the reading of the St. G. and Val. MSS. and of the *editio princeps*. The reading commoner in the editions is *cummaxime*, as in Paris 8717.

dicebam vobis: "I told you so."

non semper Saturnalia erunt: Note the parataxis after *dicebam*. On the use of the phrase, cf. note on *Saturnalicius*, c. 8; especially cf. Petron. 44: *isti maiores maxillae semper Saturnalia agunt*. Otto quotes Lucian *de Merc. Cond.* 16; οἴει γὰρ εἰς ἀεὶ Διονύσια ἑορτάσειν; and the German, *Es ist nicht immer Kirmes*. We say, "Every dog has his day."

ingenti μεγάλῳ χορικῷ: The tautology has condemned the reading, which is clearly that of the St. G. MS., in the minds of some of the editors, who have adopted the correction of Iunius, μεγαληγορίᾳ. But a "great big chorus" seems altogether in the spirit of the situation, particularly as one of the adjectives is Greek.

nenia cantabatur anapaestis: Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 100: in connection with Augustus's funeral, *canentibus neniam principum liberis utriusque sexus*. The word is defined in Festus (Paul. ex Fest. p. 61, M.), *naenia est carmen quod in funere laudandi gratia cantatur ad tibiam*, and Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 24, 62, *honoratorum virorum laudes in contione memorentur easque*

etiam cantus ad tibicinem prosequatur, cui nomen neniae. Compare the verses in Mercury's proclamation in Julian's *Caesares*, 18. The anapaest is familiar in marching time, and the anapaestic dimeter is common in Seneca's tragedies.

edite planctus: Cf. Sen. *Troad.* 93–94:

Vacet ad crebri verbera planctus
Furibunda manus. placet hic habitus.

Cf. also id. *Thyest.* 1049–1050:

pectora illiso sonent
Contusa planctu.

After these words, the *editio princeps*, in which the lines are arranged three dipodies long, has the dipody, *fingite mugitus.* This is not in the St. G. and Val. MSS., but occurs in some of the later ones, and either in this form or that of Rhenanus's conjecture, *fingite luctus*, appears in most of the editions. It might possibly be an instance of *double entente* in the word *fingite*, but seems on the whole an inept interpolation. The dirge had not reached the stage of frankness for saying, "counterfeit sorrow."

resonet tristi clamore forum: At the Forum began the march toward the place in the Campus Martius where the pyre was burned (Herodianus). Bücheler recalls Appian, *Bel. Civ.* ii. 146, telling how the funeral hymn to Caesar began there after Antony's oration.

cecidit pulchre cordatus homo: Referring to such a butt of ridicule as Claudius, who was understood to have died of eating poisoned mushrooms, the irony of this makes a good beginning. On the adjective, cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 335, ap. Cic. *Tusc.* i. 9, 18: *Egregie cordatus homo, catus Aeliu' Sextus.* (Same ap. id. *Rep.* i. 18, and *De Or.* i. 45.) This sense of the word *cor* is commonest in the anteclassical poets.

quo non alius: Cf. the same expression below, and in Ov. *Met.* iii. 615, similarly with a comparative. More usual is *nemo alius* or *alius nemo.*

fortior: Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 35: *nihil aeque quam timidus ac diffidens fuit. . . . neque convivia inire ausus est nisi ut speculatores cum lanceis circumstarent*, etc. Cf. Dio, lx. 2.

citato . . . cursu: On his halting gait, cf. c. 1 and c. 5, and notes.

rebelles fundere Parthos: On the troubles with the Parthians, who could not strictly be called "rebels," cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 44–51. In the last fight with them recorded in Claudius's reign the Parthians were victorious over the Hiberi (the allies of Rome), but *atrox hiems seu parum provisi commeatus et orta ex utroque tabes perpellunt Volugesen* [*regem Parthorum*] *omittere praesentia* (ib. 50). It was not, however, till Nero's time, that *abscessere Armenia Parthi, tamquam differrent bellum* (ibid. xiii. 7).

Persida: i.e. *Persas*. Persia for the Persians, by metonymy.

certaque manu: Cf. c. 6, fin. *solutae manus*; Dio, lx. 2: τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα νοσώδης ὥστε καὶ . . . ταῖς χερσὶν ὑποτρέμειν.

pictaque Medi terga fugacis: Ruhkopf's explanation of this line is, *pictis sagulis amicti, aut picta scuta in terga reiicientes fugiendo*. The costumes of the Medes and Persians always excited the Græco-Roman imagination. Cf. Pers. iii. 53: *Medi bracati*, and similar allusions. The reference here is doubtless to the well-known fashion of flight while shooting their arrows backward, which was especially Parthian, but not here precisely discriminated.

Britannos ultra noti litora ponti: This is an heroic exaggeration, even for Claudius's time. His expedition to Britain, however, was in some respects the most spectacular achievement of his reign. Cf. Tac. *Agric.* 13–14, reviewing the earlier relations of the Britons with the empire, and ib. fin., *Divus Claudius auctor operis, . . . redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae*. Suet. *Cl.* 17 gives Claudius's personal motive for the expedition. Compare also, on the expedition and the triumph with which it was celebrated, Dio, lx. 19–23. On the latter part of the war in

Britain, after Claudius had returned to Rome, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 31–40. The expedition was a favorite subject of epigram. Cf. in Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.* 762, fin., *Qui finis mundo est, non erat imperio*, and others there given.

Brigantas: Though these for a time stopped fighting (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 32), they were not part of the province reduced to actual subjection in Claudius's time, but were conquered by Vespasian. Cf. Tac. *Agric.* 17, where the *Brigantum civitas* is described as *numerosissima provinciae totius*. They lived in the north of England.

ipsum . . . tremere Oceanum: Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 17, *inter hostilia spolia navalem coronam . . . traiecti et quasi domiti Oceani insigne.* Also Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.* 765, 5–6:

At nunc Oceanus geminos interluit orbes,
Pars est imperii, terminus ante fuit.

Romanae iura securis tremere: Cf. Caes. *B.G.* vii. 77, [*Gallia*] *securibus subiecta*, and Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 54, *Medus Albanas timet secures.*

non alius potuit citius discere causas, etc.: Cf. c. 7 and 10 (*fin.*); see Introd. p. 9, on Claudius's taste for the judgment seat. Suet. *Cl.* 15 is the *locus classicus* for instances. *Facilius* might have been added to *citius* in reference to at least one judgment there recorded: *secundum eos se sentire, qui vera proposuissent.*

una tantum parte audita: Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 29: *nec defensione ulla data.* Also on the irregularities of Claudius's condemnations, cf. Dio, lx. 16 (*init.*).

saepe ne utra: so Bücheler, *edit. min.* In the *editio princeps*, *saepe et neutra*, followed by most of the editions. *Saepe neutra*, frankly taken, would be no worse, metrically, than *ultra noti* above.

tibi iam cedet sede relicta: Minos, acknowledging himself outdone.

populo . . . silenti: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 264, *umbrae silentes*, and similar instances.

Cretaea tenens oppida centum: Cf. Hor. *Epod.* ix. 29: *centum nobilem Cretam urbibus*; id. *Carm.* iii. 27, 33; similarly Homer, *Il.* ii. 649, Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν.

o causidici, venale genus: See note on *causidici* above, and especially Tac. *Ann.* xi. 5, *nec quicquam . . . tam venale fuit quam advocatorum perfidia.* The writer concludes with this appeal the mock glorification of Claudius's judicial services, which followed the enumeration of his achievements as a conquering prince. Here, however, the temptation to an outburst of unconventional frankness introduces two more appeals for the mourning of classes who had profited by Claudius's weak points. *Venale genus* is an epithet no less biting that it was lawfully applicable, since the *advocati* were authorized to take payment for their services (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 7). Cf. Petron. 14, on the venality of courts in general.

vosque poetae, etc.: On Claudius's interest in literature, cf. c. 5. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 40–42; also Pliny, *Ep.* i. 13, 3, on his willingness to listen to other writers. Recall his production at his own expense of a Greek comedy in honor of Germanicus, which was awarded the prize by the decision of the judges (Suet. *Cl.* 11). The satirist's own attitude toward the *poetae novi* is to be inferred from the *Apoc.* c. 2.

qui concusso magna parastis lucra fritillo: Cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii. 24, 58, *vetita legibus alea.* But Claudius *aleam studiosissime lusit, de cuius arte librum quoque emisit* (Suet. *Cl.* 33). Cf. ibid. 5: *et aleae infamiam subiit*, and id. *Vitell.* 4: *Claudio per aleae studium familiaris.* See cc. 14 and 15.

13. Talthybius deorum: Talthybius, the herald of Agamemnon in the Trojan War, was proverbial for a swift and zealous messenger. Cf. Plaut. *Stichus*, 305, where the hurrying Dinacium says, *Contundam facta Talthybi contemnamque omnis nuntios.* The Talthybius of the gods was evidently Mercury. After *deorum* the MSS. and most of the editions have the word *nuntius* (bracketed by Bücheler and omitted by Ruhkopf and Schusler), which clearly destroys the sense and must be a gloss.

capite obvoluto: This might conceivably be an allusion to the fact mentioned by Dio (lx. 2) that Claudius was the first Roman to go in a litter with a covering over his head. The motive here given (*ne quis*, etc.) was only one of several possible ones, however, for an act that was common. Cf. *e.g.* Petron. 20: *operuerat Ascyltos pallio caput, admonitus scilicet periculosum esse, alienis intervenire secretis*. Men covered their heads, as now they would pull their hats down over their eyes, lest they should be recognized, or indeed to keep from seeing something distasteful, or to conceal their own expression, as Caesar when he resigned himself to his assassins (Suet. *Caes.* 82).

inter Tiberim et viam Tectam: at the northern extremity of the Campus Martius, where the *via Tecta* (associated with the *via Flaminia* in Martial, viii. 75, 2; cf. *id.* iii. 5, 5) or *via fornicata* (cf. Liv. xxii. 36) seems to have been a species of arcade with shops. The region was near the Mausoleum of Augustus, where Claudius's ashes were actually laid away. The tale of his descent to Hades here is evidently based on the popular superstitions connected with the *Campus ignifer*, the Tarentum or Terentum of the *Ludi Terentini*, and the story told by Valer. Max. ii. 4, 5, of Valesius the Sabine and his sick children. Cf. Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, ii. 1 and 2. The pool fed by hot springs and other signs of volcanic action had originally marked the spot, and here was the *Ara Ditis patris et Proserpinae*, which was discovered in 1886–1887 with the celebrated *Commentarium ludorum saecularium* (*C.I.L.* VI. 877; *Mon. Antichi Accad. Linc.*, 1891, p. 618; Lanciani, *Ruins and Exc.* p. 446). Cf. Festus (ed. M. p. 329), s.v. *saeculares ludi, . . . quod populus R. in loco eo antea sacra fecerat et aram quoque Diti ac Proserpinae consecraverat, in extremo Martio campo quod Terentum appellatur*.

The locality of Claudius's descent into Hades seems itself a hint at his antiquarian propensities, especially after his celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* (*Terentini*) there, at a date somewhat open to criticism.

The apparent reading of the *editio princeps*, *viam rectam*, followed by some of the editors, is, I think, an imperfect imprint.

compendiaria: Sc. *via*. See Lex. for similar instances; *e.g.* Varr. *Menipp.* Frag. 510 (ed. Büch.), *hoc dico, compendiaria sine ulla sollicitudine ac molestia ducundi ad eandem voluptatem posse perveniri*. The nature of Narcissus's short cut is indicated in Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1.

Narcissus libertus (Dessau, *Prosop.* N. 18): This was one of the most powerful of Claudius's freedmen, and his secretary *ab epistulis* (Suet. *Cl.* 28; Dio, lx. 34; cf. inscr. in *Bull. Com.* 1886, p. 104, and 1887, p. 10, from the *fistulae urbanae, Narcissus Aug. l. ab epistulis*). See note on c. 11 for his conspiracy with Messalina against Appius Silanus. For other indications of his wealth, character, and acts, cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii. 134; Juv. xiv. 329–331; Dio, lx. 15, 16, 31, 33, 34; Zon. xi. 10; Tac. xi. 29–38; Suet. *Vitell.* 2; id. *Vesp.* 4; id. *Tit.* 2; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* iv. praef. 15; Sid. Apol. v. 7, 3. He has been commonly supposed to be the Narcissus mentioned by St. Paul, *Ep. to the Rom.* xvi. 11. Being an opponent of Agrippina (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 1, 2, 57, 65; xiii. 1), he was out of the way at the time of Claudius's assassination, having been forced by ill health to go to the watering-place of Sinuessa in Campania (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 66), for Dio (lx. 34) says that if he had been present, Agrippina could not have accomplished her design against her husband. After Claudius's death, Narcissus was summarily disposed of (Dio, *ibid.*, and Tac. xiii. 1), after having prudently destroyed the letters *ex epistulario Claudiano*. As, however, he did not go by way of Olympus, he appears to have got to Hades ahead of his master. After *libertus* the *edit. prin.* has the words, *dominus domini*, an evident gloss.

ad patronum excipiendum: Compare Silenus's gibe in Julian's *Caesares*, c. 6: "You shouldn't have brought Claudius (to the banquet) without his freedmen, Narcissus and Pallas, to take care of him."

ut erat a balineo : *i.e.* Sinuessa, compared to the ordinary morning bath.

celerius : "Quick!" for *celeriter;* one of the comparatives that in colloquial use have somewhat lost their comparative force. Cf. Petron. 20; Vitruv. viii 7. The *edit. prin.* has *celerius praecedito*, and so Rhenanus. Ruhkopf and others, following a doubtful MS. indication, give *celerius i.* Analogy with our idiom leads us to be satisfied with the adverb alone. After *nuntia*, occur in the *edit. prin.* and some of the later MSS. (but not St. G. nor Val.) the words, *Ille autem patrono plura blandiri volebat. quem Mercurius iterum festinare iussit et virga morantem impulit.*

dicto citius : a familiar expression. See Otto, *Sprichw.* Cf. *e.g.* Verg. *Aen.* i. 142; Petron. 74.

omnia proclivia sunt, facile descenditur: Cf. the familiar *facilis descensus Averno* of Verg. *Aen.* vi. 126. Seneca remarks in a serious work, *De Prov.* vi. 7, *nihil feci, inquit deus, facilius quam mori. prono animam loco posui.* Cf. *Anthol Pal.* x. 3 (auth. incert.), 4:

πάντοθεν εἰς ὁ φερων εἰς ἀΐδην ἄνεμος.

quamvis podagricus esset: Hence, doubtless, his visit to the watering-place.

ad ianuam Ditis: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 127.

ut ait Horatius: *Carm.* ii. 13, 34:

> . . . *ubi illis carminibus stupens*
> *Demittit atras belua centiceps*
> *Aures*, etc.

This epithet, for the usually three-headed Cerberus (cf. Hor. *Carm.* ii. 19, 31) is explained according to the scholiasts by Hor. *Carm.* iii. 11, 17:

> *Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum*
> *Muniant angues caput eius*, etc.

Vergil's account is the most familiar, *Aen.* vi. 417–423. Hesiod, however, gives Cerberus fifty heads (*Theog.* 312).

After *belua centiceps* in the *edit. prin.* are the words, *sese movens villosque horrendos excutiens*, which do not appear in any of the best MSS. and seem to be a late effort to enhance the picturesqueness of the description, *villos* being apparently from the following *villosum.*

pusillum perturbatur . . . subalbam canem: so in the St. G. MS. and in Bücheler. Most of the editors, following the *edit. prin.* and some of the later MSS., shift the *sub*, prefixing it to *perturbatur* rather than *albam.* Note the genders, *albam canem . . . canem nigrum.*

sane non quem velis tibi in tenebris occurrere: cf. Juv. v. 54:

Mauri
Et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem.

There is apparently a play on the meaning of *tenebris.* Seneca as well as Vergil knew how to deal with Cerberus. Cf. his *De Const. Sap.* 14, *tamquam* [*quisquam*] *canem acrem obiecto cibo leniet.*

Before *cum plausu* many of the editions, following the *edit. prin.*, which has *venit. ecce extemplo*, give *venit et ecce extemplo*, but the additional words are not in the best MSS.

εὑρήκαμεν συγχαίρωμεν: This is the MS. reading as restored by Nic. Faber. Bücheler changed to *συγχαίρομεν*, in the exact form of the ritualistic acclamation of Osiris in the annual celebration of his return, the Egyptian *phallus* festival which came in November. I have preferred to keep the subjunctive of the *codices*, thinking this free adaptation of the formula in itself quite as fitting and likely as the exact recitation of it which Bücheler seems to assume was Seneca's intention. If any such copyist's blunder is to be supposed as he implies, the reverse one would have been easier to understand, *i.e.* from an original subjunctive of the author's, back to the common formula.

Athenagoras (*Legatio pro Christianis*, c. 19) says, describing the religion of the Egyptians, [They call] *τὴν μὲν τοῦ σίτου σποράν Ὄσιριν. ὅθεν φασί, μυστικῶς, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνευρέσει τῶν μελῶν ἢ τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιλεχθῆναι τῇ Ἴσιδι εὑρήκαμεν συγχαίρομεν.* Similarly Iulius Firmicus Maternus V.C. in his *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* (C. 2 *aquae cultum apud Aegyptios refutat*) gives an account of the Osiris myth and quotes *εὑρήκαμεν συγχαίρομεν*, with a Christian exhortation. Compare also allusions in Herod. iii. 27; Lactant. lib i. *de Falsa Relig.* 21; Minuc. Fel. *Octav.* 22; Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, *De Reditu suo Itinerarium*, i. 375, 6. It is to the same cry that Juvenal refers in (viii. 29):

> *Exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osiri*
> *Invento,*

which is commonly understood to indicate the rejoicing when a new Apis, as an incarnation of Osiris, was found to replace an old one dead. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 46, 184.

How far Seneca intended the implication to be carried, from his borrowing a cry of joy over the discovery of a bull for the welcome of Claudius in Hades, may be left to conjecture. One must not try to make even an Apis metaphor go on all fours. Recall the curious comment upon the Osiris ritual quoted by St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, vi. 10) from Seneca's lost book, *de Superstitione* (Introd. p. 44).

To this welcome by the injured souls in Hades has been compared the passage in Shakespeare's *Richard III.*, i. 4, beginning "Clarence is come," etc.

C. Silius: (Dessau, *Prosop.* S. 505) *Iuventutis Romanae pulcherrimus* (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 12). As *consul designatus* 47 A.D. he had taken the lead in the senatorial request for the enforcement of the Lex Cincia, which Claudius saw fit to abrogate (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 5–6). But he is chiefly noted as the paramour of Messalina, for whom he put away his own wife, Iunia Silana, and by whose favor he was made *consul designatus*. For the account of Messalina's bigamous marriage

with him, 48 A.D., see Tac. *Ann.* xi. 26–35; xiii. 19; Suet. *Cl.* 26, 29, 36; Dio, lx. 31; Zon. xi. 10. Cf. the evident allusion in Juv. x. 330:

> *elige, quidnam*
> *Suadendum esse potes, cui nubere Caesaris uxor*
> *Destinat.*

The name of C. Silius is omitted in the *edit. prin.*

Iuncus praetorius: corrected by Sonntag from the traditional reading, *Junius Praetorius* (*edit. prin.*, etc.), by comparison with Tac. *Ann.* xi. 35, where he is named *Iuncus Vergilianus senator.*

Sex. Traulus: Traulus Montanus, *eques Romanus*, ruined by Messalina (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 36).

M. Helvius: otherwise unknown.

Trogus: Saufeius Trogus (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 35).

Cotta: otherwise unknown.

Vettius Valens: (*Prosop.* V. 343) He was a physician as well as *eques*; cf. Scrib. Larg. 94; Pliny, *N.H.* xxix. 8: *novam instituit sectam.* He was among the lovers of Messalina (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 30; Pliny, *N.H.* xxix. 1 (8), 20), and it was he who at the nuptials of Silius climbed the tree and saw the *tempestatem ab Ostia atrocem* (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 31, 35).

Fabius: otherwise unknown.

Mnester pantomimus: (*Prosop.* M. 462) From *C.I.L.* VI. 20,139, which is probably his sepulchral inscription, we infer that he was a freedman of Tiberius: *Ti. Iulio | Aug. l. | Mnesteri.* He was a favorite with Caligula (Suet. *Cal.* 36, 55, 57; Dio, lx. 22). Messalina obtained his compliance by getting Claudius to command him to do whatever she required of him (Dio, *ibid.*; Zon. xi. 9; cf. Dio, lx. 28). On his death, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 36, and Dio, lx. 31.

decoris causa: Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 36: *pronum ad misericordiam Caesarem perpulere liberti, ne tot inlustribus viris interfectis histrioni consuleretur.*

minorem fecerat: *i.e.* in Procrustean fashion.

Bücheler says (*edit. min.*), *post* '*fecerat*' *nonnulla videntur intercidisse*. Considering the rapid style of the enumeration this hardly seems necessary to suppose; many of the editions, however, have inserted *nec non*. The *edit. prin.* has: *fecerat*. *Nec non Messalinam*, without *ad*. The present arrangement is better than that in Bücheler's earlier edition, which connected *ad Messalinam* with *minorem fecerat*, or than the common way of making *ad Messalinam* depend on *percrebruit*, which forces an unusual meaning from this latter word.

ad Messalinam: She was the natural centre for the foregoing group. As to the *liberti*, we do not know so well. Cf. Zon. xi. 10 (as Dio, lx. 31): ἕως μὲν γὰρ οἱ Καισάρειοι πάντες ὡμονόουν αὐτῇ, οὐδὲν ἦν ὃ οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης ἐποίουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πολύβιον, καίτοι κἀκείνῳ πλησιάζουσα, διέβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκέτ' αὐτῇ ἐπίστευον, καὶ ἐρημωθεῖσα τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν εὐνοίας ἐφθάρη. The occasion of the deaths of the four other *liberti* here mentioned is not known. Bücheler suggests possibly the conspiracy of Asinius Gallus, 46 A.D. (Suet. *Cl.* 13; Dio, lx. 27).

Polybius: Claudii libertus (*Prosop.* P. 427). Cf. Zonaras and Dio, above. It was he to whom Seneca had addressed the doubtless regretted *Consolatio ad Polybium*, from Corsica. Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 28: *ac super hos* [*libertos suspexit*] *Polybium a studiis, qui saepe inter duos consules ambulabat*; cf. Aurel. *Vict. Epit.* iv. 8: *Polybium inter consules medium incedere fecit*. He was apparently also *a libellis*. (Cf. *Consol. ad Polyb.* vi. 5: *audienda sunt* [*tibi*] *tot hominum milia, tot disponendi libelli.*) On his power and witty impudence, cf. Dio, lx. 29.

Myron: otherwise unknown.

Harpocras: Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 28: *libertorum praecipue suspexit . . . et Harpocran, cui lectica per urbem vehendi spectaculaque publice edendi ius tribuit.* He was probably the same as mentioned in *C.I.L.* VI. 9016: *Arpocras Aug. lib. procurator*, etc.

Amphaeus, Pheronactus: persons unidentified. The second name is Bücheler's reading for various forms in the MSS.: *pheronaotus* (St. G.), *pheronatlus*, *pheronatius*.

In the *edit. prin.* three more are mentioned, and the passage reads: *liberti Myron, Ampyronas, Ampaeus, Pheronas, Posides hasta pura insignis, Felix cum Pallante fratre, Harpocras, Polybius quos omnes Claudius quaestoriis praetoriisque muneribus ubi impertitus esset, praemiserat.* The addition, *Posides . . . fratre*, not only lacks MS. authority, but Pallas at least was still living (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 2; xiv. 65), and in favor with Agrippina. The three names are all found in Suet. *Cl.* 28, and the interpolator evidently was unwilling that such well-known types should be left out of the satire. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 6, on Pallas.

necubi imparatus esset: Cf. c. 3, *fin.*

Iustus Catonius: He had been *primi ordinis centurio* in the Pannonian army under Tiberius, 14 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* i. 29), and *praefectus praetorio* in 43. Cf. Dio, lx. 18: Κατώνιον Ἰοῦστον, τοῦ τε δορυφορικοῦ ἄρχοντα καὶ δηλῶσαι τί αὐτῷ [*i.e.* to Claudius] περὶ τούτων [*i.e.* her vices] ἐθελήσαντα, προδιέφθειρε [Messalina]. He knew too much.

Rufrius Pollio: In the St. G. MS. this is *rofius* (corrected to *rufius*) *pomfilius*, and it is given by many editors, *Rufus Pompeii f(ilius)*. Cf. Dio, lx. 23: Ῥουφρίῳ δὲ δὴ Πωλίωνι τῷ ἐπάρχῳ εἰκόνα καὶ ἕδραν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῷ συνεσίῃ. This was 44 A.D. It was Reimar's conjecture (Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsgesch.* p. 220) to Dio, that this is the same man mentioned in the *Apocolocyntosis*. He had been made a prefect by Claudius in the year 41. Dessau (*Prosop.* R. 123) cites also Joseph. *Antiq. Iud.* xix. 4, 5: . . . κατ' ἐπιστολὰς Πωλίωνος ὃν μικρῷ πρότερον Κλαύδιος στρατηγὸν ᾑρητο τῶν σωματοφυλάκων.

amici: These personal associates of the emperor, taken from among the senators, the *comites peregrinationum expeditionumque*, who came in time to have a definite official station, still occupied a relation to the emperor's office some-

what ill-defined. Under Augustus it was entirely so. See Suet. *Aug.* 56, 66 (and in ed. Ernest. *Excursus* xv). Cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 13; Suet. *Ner.* 5; id. *Galba*, 7, where Galba is mentioned as *receptus in cohortem amicorum* [*Claudii*]. See also Friedländer, *Sittengesch. Roms*, I. 133 *seq.* (6th ed.).

Saturninus Lusius: Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 43, mentions Lusius Saturninus among the alleged victims of P. Suillius under the Claudian régime. Cf. *C.I.L.* III. 2028 (an inscription found at Salonae), vv. 8 and 9: Q· EVTETIO | LVsIO· SATVrNINO· M· SEIO· VERANO· COS. Their precise date is unknown.

Pedo Pompeius: Cf. c. 14. Otherwise unknown, unless the Pompeius Urbicus mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* xi. 35, is the same.

Lupus: Cornelius Lupus (*Prosop.* C. 1145), also mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 43, as one of those ruined by the intrigues of Suillius. Under Tiberius he was proconsul of Crete, as shown on Cretan coins, ἐπὶ Κορ(νηλίου) Λύ(που). Cf. Eckhel, *Doct. Vet. Num.* I. ii. p. 302. He was *consul suffectus* 42 A.D. Cf. Gaius, iii. 63: *Lupo et Largo consulibus.*

Celer Asinius: Sex. Asinius Celer (*Prosop.* A. 1012) is mentioned by Frontinus (*de Aquis*, ii. 102) as consul A.D. 38; he was *cons. suffectus*. He is mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 17, 67, for the extravagant price he paid for a mullet. (Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 16, 9.) As brother of Asinius Gallus, he may have been ruined by some participation in his conspiracy.

fratris filia: Julia, daughter of Germanicus; cf. c. 10.

sororis filia: Julia, the daughter of Livia by Drusus; cf. c. 10.

generi: L. Silanus and Pompeius Magnus; cf. cc. 8, 10, 11.

soceri: Appius Silanus and Crassus Frugi, who was strictly *consocer* of Claudius; cf. c. 11.

socrus: This similarly refers both to Claudius's real mother-in-law, Domitia Lepida, Messalina's mother, who was removed by the jealousy of Agrippina (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 64; cf. *id.* xi.

37), and his *consocrus*, Scribonia, mother of his son-in-law Magnus; cf. c. 11.

agmine facto: a phrase with somewhat the aspect of our "lining up." Seneca uses the same in *Ep.* 104, 19, but in a more similar ironic manner is *iam ebriae mulieres longum agmen plaudentes fecerant* (Petron. 26).

πάντα φίλων πλήρη: Claudius does not recall that anything has come between them. Some of the editors have seen in these words a reminiscence of the saying of Heraclitus, *πάντα θεῶν πλήρη*. Cf. Diogenes Laërtius, ix. 1, 6, where Heraclitus is quoted thus: *καὶ πάντα ψυχῶν εἶναι καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη*. But in Seneca's time the source of the quotation was perhaps not so far to seek.

quomodo huc venistis vos? On Claudius's *oblivio*, see note on *nescio, inquis*, c. 11.

in ius: as we say, "to justice."

sellas: curule chairs of the magistrates, especially the praetors; here referring particularly to the judgment-seats, as we speak of "the bench."

14. ad tribunal Aeaci: *Quam paene iudicantem vidimus Aeacum!* (Hor. *Carm.* ii. 13, 22). Guasco recalls how Plato (*Gorgias*, 524A) specifies that Aeacus was judge of the Europeans who came to Hades, while Rhadamanthus attended to the Asiatics. Seneca at least conforms to tradition in bringing Claudius before the former. The third judge was Minos; cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 432, *quaesitor Minos*. Cf. Propert. *Eleg.* iv. 11:

Aut si quis posita iudex sedet Aeacus urna
In mea sortita iudicet ossa pila.
Assideant fratres, e.q.s.

The comic interest of the situation is evidently the close parody in Hades upon the usual Roman legal procedure before a praetor, and the citing of a well-known Roman enactment as the basis of proceedings in the world below.

lege Cornelia . . . de sicariis: a law of the Dictator Sulla,

enacted A.U.C. 671, *de sicariis et veneficis*. Cf. *Inst.* iv. 18, 5: *Lex Cornelia de sicariis, quae homicidas ultore ferro persequitur, vel eos qui hominis occidendi causa cum telo ambulant. . . . eadem lege et venefici capiti damnantur qui artibus odiosis tam venenis, vel susurris magicis homines occiderunt,* etc. Cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 54, 55, 57; *Dig.* xlviii. 8, *passim*. .

postulat, nomen eius recipiat: This is the reading of the St. G. and Val. MSS. Many of the editions have *recipi;* the *edit. prin.*, *recipit*, *aedit*, etc. It is the request by the accuser that the magistrate take up the case, [*ut*] *nomen recipiat*. See Bouché-Leclerc, *Institutions Romaines*, s.v. *subscriptor*.

subscriptionem: the formal written accusation, to which the accuser was required to place his signature, *subscriptio*, according to *Dig.* xlviii. 2, 7: *Si cui crimen obiciatur praecedere debet in crimen subscriptio, quae res ad id inventa est, ne facile quis prosiliat ad accusationem, cum sciat inultam sibi non futuram*. Here the *subscriptio* stands for the whole document. Cf. Sen. *de Benef.* iii. 26, 2: *quum . . . subscriptionem componeret*. Pedo Pompeius is here the one *cui . . . accusatio subscriptiove in reum permittatur* (Gell. ii. 4, 1).

occisos senatores XXXV, equites R. CCXXI, ceteros ὅσα, etc.: The reading of the St. G. *codex* (according to Bücheler; for a different account, see Schenkl and others) is *senatores XXX equites r. V. caeteros CCXXI ὅσα*, etc. That of the *cod. Val.* is similar. The *edit. prin.* reads: *Senatores XXX Eq. Ro. CCCXV. atque plures: caeteros CCXXI*, the Greek being omitted. Similarly Ruhkopf and Schusler: *senatores XXX Equites Rom. CCCXV atque plures: ceteros cives ὅσα*, etc., *cives* being a conjecture of Sonntag for the apparently redundant *CCXXI*. Haase's text, apparently from a misreading of the St. G. MS., has *senatores XXX equites R. CC. ceteros CCXXI* ὅσα*, etc., and Fickert's the same without the asterisk. Suet. *Cl.* 29, says: *In quinque et triginta senatores trecentosque amplius equites Romanos tanta facilitate animadvertit, ut*, etc. Bücheler's reading is based upon the assumption — which in part, at least, is a conjecture of Rhe-

nanus — that, in copying, the numbers in the manuscript became displaced, so that *V* is to be pushed back with *XXX*, and *CCXXI* with *equites R.*, leaving very reasonably the superlative ὅσα, etc., with *ceteros*.

Besides the ten out of the thirty-five senators who are mentioned in the *Apocolocyntosis*, L. Silanus, Crassus, Magnus, Appius Silanus, Silius, Iuncus, Saturninus Lusius, Pedo Pompeius, Lupus, and Celer Asinius, Bücheler gathered the following names: Camillus Scribonianus (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 75), Annius Vinicianus (Dio, lx. 15), Q. Pomponius (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 43), Caecina Paetus (Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 16), Statilius Corvinus (Suet. *Cl.* 13), Valerius Asiaticus (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 3; cf. *ibid.* xiii. 43), Statilius Taurus (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 59), M. Vinicius (Dio, lx. 27), and Scribonianus, the son of Camillus (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52).

Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 43, speaks of the *equitum Romanorum agmina damnata* under Claudius.

ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε: These words form the end of *Il.* ix. 385. In the *edit. prin.*, before *advocatum* come the words, *Exterritus Claudius oculos undecumque circumfert, vestigat aliquem patronum qui se defenderet*, which are lacking in the MSS., and apparently were interpolated to effect a natural change of subject to Claudius before *invenit*. Ruhkopf and Schusler retain them, and Fickert and Haase within brackets. Gertz, however, suggests *ille* before *advocatum*, as more easily dropped after κόν ις τε.

P. Petronius: (Dessau, *Prosop.* P. 198) Consul *Suffectus* A.D. 19, and later proconsul of Asia. The fact that he had flourished twenty and thirty years before (cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 49 and iv. 45) explains the *vetus*.

vetus convictor: In the glosses, συνεστιάτωρ, etc. Cf. c. 3, *his . . . convictoribus*.

Claudiana lingua disertus: Cf. c. 5, *non intellegere se linguam eius*, etc. See Introd. p. 6.

postulat advocationem: P. Petronius demands perhaps the advocacy of Claudius's case; but probably *advocatio* here is

to be taken in the special sense of the postponement or stay of proceedings often asked for in order that the accused might consult his *advocatus*, and prepare his case for the court. Cf. Cicero's jocose remark (*Ep. ad. Fam.* vii. 11. 1), *ego omnibus, unde petitur, hoc consilii dederim, ut a singulis interregibus binas advocationes postulent. Satisne tibi videor abs te ius civile didicisse?* Seneca frequently uses the word in nearly the general sense of *dilatio*. Cf. *De Ira*, i. 18. 1; iii. 12. 4; *Ad Marciam de Consol*, x. 4; *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 10. 1.

incipit . . . velle respondere: See Introd. p. 69. Cf. Petron. 9: *coepit mihi velle pudorem extorquere*; ibid. 70, *coeperat Fortunata velle saltare*; ibid. 98, *incipe velle servare.*

altera tantum parte audita: Cf. c. 12, *una . . . audita*, and c. 10, fin.

αἴκε πάθοι τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο: an expression of rudimentary justice ascribed to various sources. Leutsch (*Paroemiographi Graeci*, Göttingen, 1839) gives it in his *Appendix Proverbiorum*, 112, p. 396, thus: εἴ κε πάθοι, τά γ' ἔρεξε, δίκη δ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο, and an account of its sources. Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* v. 5. 3) quotes it as τὸ Ῥαδαμάνθυος δίκαιον, beginning, εἴκε πάθοι. Michael Ephesius, in a note to Aristotle, ascribes it to Hesiod. Julian gives it, beginning αἴκε πάθῃ, (*Caesares*, c. 12, *fin.*, p. 314, ed. Spanh.), and ascribes it to the Delphic oracle.

Cf. Dio, lx. 16: Κλαύδιος δὲ οὕτω που πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν τήν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἔσχεν, ὥστε καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο συνεχῶς διδόναι, ὅτι χρὴ

Ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ,

the verse being from the *Iliad*, xxiv. 369. Leutsch, *Par. Gr.*, compares *sententiam notissimam Aeschyl. apud Strobaeum, Eclogg. Phys.* I. 4, 24: δράσαντι γάρ τοι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται.

Claudio magis iniquum . . . quam novum: referring not, of course, to the proverb, the application of which could not be called *iniquum*, but to the *altera tantum parte audita condemnat.*

de genere poenae diu disputatum: The Cornelian law is evidently forgotten, the penalty which it provides, *deportatio et bonorum ademptio* (*Digest.* xlviii. 8. 5), being naturally ill-adapted to execution under present circumstances.

erant qui dicerent, si nimium diu laturam fecissent, Tantalum siti periturum, nisi illi succurreretur: The St. G. MS. reads, *sium diu laturam fecissent*, etc. Cod. Val.: *si uni dii laturam fecissent*. Bücheler's reading is, *erant qui dicerent, Sisyphum satis diu laturam fecisse, Tantulum siti*, etc., which he explains in Rh. Mus. 13, p. 580 *seq.* The *edit. prin.* gives: *si minus dii latura fecissent Tantalum . . . succurreretur. Non unquam Sisyphum onere relevari. Aliquando Ixionis*, etc.

The clause, *non unquam Sisyphum onere relevari*, though repeated by the editors generally, and even thought genuine by Orelli, who noted its absence from the St. G. MS., is not given in any of the best MSS., and seems an evident interpolation from the reference to Sisyphus in the next chapter. Haase brackets the clause, and Bücheler omits it.

For the first clause after *dicerent* Ruhkopf and Schusler give *si uni dii laturam fecissent*; Fickert, *si uni di laturam fecissent*; Haase, *si unius* [*diei*] *dilaturam fecissent*, with which cf. Junius, *si uni dilaturam fecissent*. Passing over the more venturesome conjectures of some of the earlier critics (Rhenanus, *semidii larvam facesseret*; Fromond, *si minus immortalem dii naturam fecissent*; Gronovius, *si uni dii gratiam fecissent*; Neubur, *si uni dii*, etc., with *statim catalogo damnatorum inscribi posse* inserted before it; Orelli, *Tityum iam diu vultures pavisse*; Curio, better, *nisi unius diei iacturam fecissent*), most of the readings are based on the text of the Val. and inferior group of MSS., *si uni dii*, etc. On the basis of the St. G. reading is Bücheler's, which makes *Sisyphum* out of *sium*, inserts *satis* bodily, and shortens *fecissent* to *fecisse*. The importance, as he considers it, of having at least three of the *veteres* enumerated here, because of the *ulli* instead of *utri* or *alterutri* to follow, does not seem to me

very great. The speaker may very well refer to two and be thinking of the whole list. Bücheler's *Sisyphus* here looks almost as much like an interpolation from below as did the rejected *non unquam Sisyphum onere relevari*. Even were his reading otherwise to be retained, I would substitute *nimium* for the *satis* which he inserts. Its omission after the preceding word with the same ending would be more easily accounted for.

To my reading of the passage there is the apparent grammatical objection that the two conditional clauses alike modify *Tantalum siti periturum*. But this I am inclined to take as an instance of colloquial tautology which may not have been unintentional on the part of the writer. It helps to convey the effect of confused suggestion on the part of the disputants. See Introd. p. 69, and compare, especially in c. 10, *videris Iuppiter an in causa . . . si aecus futurus es*.

laturam: On plebeian forms in *-ura*, see Cooper, *Word Formation in the Latin Sermo Plebeius*, p. 27. The word is here used in its general sense of *enduring;* otherwise it is not specially apt for the suffering of Tantalus. It was in late Latin that it became a common commercial term for the work or φόρετρον of a porter (*laturarius*, freq. in St. Augustine).

Ixionis miseri rotam sufflaminandam: For allusions to the well-known punishment of Ixion, cf. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 460; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 601. *Sufflamino*, from *sufflamen* (cf. Juv. viii. 148, *Ipse rotam astringit sufflamine mulio*), presumably was a carter's word. Its use in Sen. *Controv.* iv. *praef.* is evidently intended as a rough and vigorous metaphor.

ex veteribus: So the St. G. and Wolf. MSS., and Bücheler (ed. 1864) and Haase; the Val. MS., *veteris; edit. prin.*, Ruhkopf, Fickert, and Bücheler (*edit. min.*), *veteranis*.

alicuius cupiditatis spem: The reading of the best MSS. is *spes*. Bücheler and Haase give *speciem*, which is an emendation of Scheffer's. Rhenanus gave *specimen;* Curio, *species*, followed by many of the editors, including Ruhkopf and Fickert. Schusler gives the MS. reading, which is quite

explicable; but for the sake of the accusative singular, with *cupiditatis*, I venture *spem*. Palaeographically considered, this may easily have disappeared through the form *spē sine*, etc.

sine fine et effectu: This is the reading common to most of the editions. Bücheler and Schusler, following the St. G. MS., have *sine effectu*. The Val. MS. has *sine fine effectus*; Wolf., *sine fine et effectus*. *Sine fine*, as Fromond pointed out, would be an easy dittography, but it is impossible to say which blunder the copyist was more inclined to produce, that or the contrary one of omitting *fine* after *sine*. (See Rossbach, p. 31.) Recalling, *e.g.* Verg. *Aen.* ii. 771, *sine fine furenti*, and the tendency here both to literary parody and to burlesque of legal repetitiousness (cf. c. 9), I have preferred the traditional reading.

alea ludere: Cf. c. 12, *fin.*, and references on Claudius's fondness for gambling.

pertuso fritillo: Cf. the proverbial *pertusum dolium* of the Danaids; Plaut. *Ps.* 369: *In pertussum ingerimus dicta dolium;* so also τὸν τετρημένον πίθον, Luc. *Dial. Mort.* xi. 4. Cf. Apollod. ii. 1, 5; Pind. *N.* 10. Similarly Lucret. iii. 936 (ed. Brieger):

> *Si non omnia pertusum congesta quasi in vas*
> *Commoda perfluxere*, etc.

fugientes semper tesseras quaerere: Although this performance is compared below to that of Sisyphus, it has more resemblance, not only to that of the Danaids, but in some of the lines to the Tantalus myth, as expressed, *e.g.*, in Hor. S. i. 1, 68–69:

> *Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat*
> *Flumina.*

15. subducto . . . fundo: Rousseau includes in his translation a reference to the Danaids:

> *Du cornet défoncé, panier des Danaïdes,*
> *Il sent couler les dés;*

and at the end he ingenuously replaces the comparison to Sisyphus with another, at some length, of an athlete who throws his arm out of joint by striking at his rival and missing him: *j'ai pris la liberté de substituer cette comparaison à celle de Sisyphe employée par Sénèque, et trop rabattue depuis cet auteur.*

auderet: Claudius is by this time intimidated, as well as discouraged. *Arderet*, however, has been proposed (*Palmeri inventum, t.* Gertz).

mittere talos: Cf. Mart. xiv. 16:

Quae scit compositos manus improba mittere talos, etc.

In Hor. *S.* ii. 7, 17, the act is reversed: *mitteret in phimum talos.*

lusuro: So the MSS. and the editions generally, including Bücheler's edition of 1864. In his *editio minor* it is changed to *fusuro*. Wehle, in 1862, cast doubt upon the line, objecting to *lusuro similis* because he says Claudius is actually *lusurus*, and to *petenti* because it requires an object. The objections do not seem on the whole sufficient. If actually about to "play" the dice (*lusuro*), Claudius would have been succeeding better than he did, and the object of *petenti* is clearly enough understood.

apparuit subito C. Caesar: On Caligula's treatment of Claudius, cf. Suet. *Cal.* 23: *nam Claudium patruum non nisi in ludibrium reservavit*; also id. *Cl.* 8 and 9 for particular instances, and 38 on Claudius's pretence of stupidity; id. *Nero*, 6; Dio, lx. 3; id. lix. 23.

illum viderant ab ipso . . . vapulantem: The MS. reading gives *ab illo*; the repetition of *illum, illo*, is plainly objectionable, and Bücheler, who keeps it, brackets the first. But this seems needed as the object of *viderant* with *vapulantem*, and, especially after *petere*, *illum* is better than *ab illo* referring to Gaius, the principal subject. Mähly suggests, *testes qui olim viderant ab ipso . . . vapulantem. Ipso* can be adopted without *olim*, to which there is no need of changing. There

may be some allusion to the familiar use among slaves of *ipse* for the master of the house.

flagris, ferulis, colaphis vapulantem: evidence that Gaius had habitually treated Claudius as his slave. The *colaphus* (κόλαφος), about as colloquial a word as our verb, to "cuff," describes a kind of treatment especially shameful to bear. As to *vapulantem*, cf. *vapulare* in c. 9.

is Menandro liberto suo tradidit: Menander was a not very uncommon freedman's name. But it is not unlikely that, as Bücheler thinks, the writer here means the great Athenian comic poet. His life on earth having been spent in exposing the foibles of men, he now figures as the assistant of the judge of the dead.

ut a cognitionibus esset: an office here first mentioned. Cf. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsgesch.* I. p. 208, note 4; see also Mommsen, *Staatsr.* II. p. 965, note 2 (3d ed.). The later officials, *a cognitionibus*, were of higher rank, but under the early emperors the functions here represented as performed by a slave were exercised by imperial freedmen. The office had to do with the investigation of cases outside the *ius ordinarium*.

Claudius is thus not only very appropriately consigned to his destiny as forever subject to the orders of a freedman, but he is also condemned to a kind of legal drudgery quite accord ing to his habit, *laborem irritum*, etc. The rapid and summary fashion in which at the end (cf. Introd. p. 54) Claudius is "shaken down" from one situation to another, only emphasizes the contemptuousness of his treatment.

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